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THE

GREAT CIVIL WAR

OF

CHARLES THE FIRST AND THE PARLIAMENT.

G. Cattermole.

J.T. Willmore.

Raising the Standard.

CATTERMOLE'S

HISTORICAL ANNUAL,

The Great Civil War

OF CHARLES 1ST AND HIS PARLIAMENT.

BY THE REVD R. CATTERMOLE, B.D.

ILLUSTRATED BY GEORGE CATTERMOLE ESQR

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Before Donnington Castle.

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BY THE

REV. RICHARD CATTERMOLE, B.D.

WITH

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GEORGE CATTERMOLE, ESQ.

UNDER THE SUPERINTENDENCE OF MR. CHARLES HEATH.

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THIS volume—the first of a proposed series on like subjects—is the result of considerable reflection on the possible means of raising a very attractive class of publications, the Annuals, into a higher field of literary design, without depriving them of those charms of novelty and grace which have so long secured to them the public favour.

The Author wishes to add, that, though it did not come within his purpose to encumber his page with authorities, strict and conscientious historical accuracy was the first object at which he aimed. In endeavouring to set before the reader, *History in action*—in avoiding as much as possible all formal or dry detail, and giving prominence and amplitude only to those

heroic deeds, those eloquent discussions, and those noble traits of personal character, which distinguish all great events or eras in the world —he has sought to avoid those extreme differences of opinion, and partisan views, that have unhappily entered so largely into most works respecting the Great Civil War of the Seventeenth Century. He cannot acknowledge indifference to any cause which has inspired high achievements among mankind. He looks upon the great drama of human events as, in all its provinces, the work of ONE who assigns no prominent part whatever to minds undeserving of earnest regard. Great qualities still find a sanctuary in the heart, even though the ends to which they were devoted may be disapproved by the principles and the judgment; and history, in common with all true knowledge, promotes the noblest charities of our nature.

THE

GREAT CIVIL WAR.

CHAPTER I.

INTRODUCTION.

If the Petition of Rights, which in the third Parliament of Charles I. confirmed those liberties that were already the birthright of Englishmen, had been ingenuously assented to by the king, and taken by the brave and strong-minded men who were its authors for a final measure, it is possible the kingdom might have been spared the calamities of the following twenty years. But when, in the confidence of victory, the popular leaders proceeded to make that just and necessary enactment a vantage ground for direct attacks on the prerogative of the crown; and when, on the other hand, the distrustful sovereign withdrew, in effect, that assent to it which had diffused among the people universal joy; a breach was made, which the living generation, though they successively flung into it every thing dear to man, were never to see closed.

The triumphs of that assembly were achieved by

men whom, or whose like, even the great period we propose to sketch saw not again met together. The fiery Eliot, foremost, if not greatest, perished long ere another parliament was called—unhappily in prison. Sir Thomas Wentworth, satisfied with that noble victory, so large a share of which was his own, mindful to which of the great parties in the state was now due the devotion of his vast political genius, went over to the king.

His example was followed by Digges, Littleton, Noy, and others of inferior note. Yet, that the spirit of the party survived, and would survive, while one man in particular lived, was apparent from a now familiar anecdote of the time. That man was Pym; whose sterling eloquence, learning, application, and matchless tenacity of purpose, admirably fitted him for his office, as leader of an opposition so weighty in talent and vast in its designs. Wentworth, before carrying into effect his final resolve, sought an interview in private with his inflexible associate, in which he imparted his present views, suggesting the advantages that would accrue from conciliation.

"You need not," interrupted Pym, indignantly, at once perceiving Wentworth's drift, while visions of impeachment rose upon his sight, "to tell me that you have a mind to leave us. But remember what I say—you are going to be undone. And remember, also, that though you leave us now, I will never leave you while your head is on your shoulders."

Refusing to pass a bill for supplies, which the wants of the executive rendered urgent, the third

parliament was dissolved in the midst of an ominous storm of contumacy on the part of the commons, and of disappointment and displeasure on that of the king. The representatives of the people retired to their homes, to brood over their personal wrongs and the despotism which now more than threatened the country, and to inflame, by their various statements of grievance, the popular discontent. The course pursued by the king had in it so much of inconsiderateness and obvious impolicy, beside what wilfulness may be imputed to it, as no hypothesis can explain, but one that includes a thorough conviction in the royal mind of its justice, in existing circumstances. He now commenced in earnest the fatal plan of governing by the bare force of prerogative, until a parliament could be convened with the prospect of a more complying temper. It is fair to acquit Charles of a wish to encroach upon the known rights of his people; but a crisis had arrived, when the people would no longer distinguish between such a wish and a resolution to maintain those adverse claims of the crown, which he had inherited from his predecessors, and thought himself bound to defend in his own person, and transmit, unimpaired, to his children. King Charles really desired to be the father of his people; but in his code of parental duty he included denial and correction with indulgence. We have no disposition to vindicate those infractions of the constitution, as now defined, which followed rapidly on each other. We cannot but observe, however, that, numerous and gross as they were, and directed equally against

the freedom and the property of the subject, there were never wanting powerful minds ready to expose and exaggerate, if they were unable to prevent them; while few mentioned, perhaps few believed, the advancing prosperity of the people, which their combined operations did not check.

The brightest track along the course of the years which followed, is, with all its errors, the path of Wentworth. Raised to the dignities of baron and viscount, and to the offices of a privy-counsellor and president of the Council of the North, this great statesman, on the dissolution of the parliament, instantly applied himself with characteristic ardour to the high and perilous duties of his presidency.

The Council of the North was a court erected at York, in the reign of Henry VIII., with jurisdiction over the five northern counties, in those times the theatre of frequent insurrection. The great and irregular powers exercised by this court, were on Wentworth's appointment, enlarged to an almost unlimited extent. In administering them with strict but haughty and severe impartiality, he succeeded in the twofold object of bearing down with a high hand every show of disaffection towards the government, and of raising to an unprecedented amount the income derived from that part of the kingdom to the royal exchequer. Charles had soon to acknowledge, rather than discover, such extraordinary zeal and ability in his new minister, as manifestly qualified him to serve the state in a wider sphere. Wentworth was nominated lord-deputy of Ireland, without

being required to resign the chair of the northern presidency.

That ever unhappy country was now for the first time governed by a hand vigorous and steady enough for the task. Wentworth made his appearance in Dublin with the pomp and ceremonial of royalty: it was his acknowledged principle of government to rule, not merely as a viee-king, but as the deputed sovereign of a conquered province. Benefits and severities he dispensed with a sternly equal hand; but even the severities of a master-mind, when first placed at the head of an arbitrary government, being for the most part merely the extinction of minor oppressions in the sovereign sway, are, for the people, blessings in disguise. One of the many historians who have poured their vials of angry censure on the proud head of Wentworth, bears this reluctant testimony: — "the Richelieu of Ireland, he made that island wealthier in the midst of exactions, and, one might almost say, happier in the midst of oppressions."

The benefits conferred on Ireland by Wentworth were diffused through all her institutions. We trace them in a more than quadrupled revenue; in the church strengthened and made more efficient; in the courts of justice reformed; in the army disciplined; in commerce and manufactures cherished and extended; in a population wealthier, more peaceful, and more humane. Its concomitant excesses are illustrated (among other less-remembered instances) by the trial and sentencing to death of the Lord Mountnorris,

ostensibly for an impatient or disrespectful word; an outbreak of tyrannous pride, made available to the strengthening of the government, which Wentworth's enemies did not forget. The sentence was meant only to humble the victim; but a stretch of power so violent in itself, and yet so capable of aggravation by unfriendly tongues, swelled prodigiously the gathering indignation against the viceroy, and was grimly noted down in the *great impeachment-book*, by those who watched with patience till the shadow upon the darkening political sun-dial should point the hour of his undoing.

Beyond the esteem of the sovereign, to whom he was ardently attached, Wentworth—with one exception—cared little to supply the vacancies in his former friendships from the party which he had now joined. Sincere, laborious, proud, he had no sympathy with the heartlessness and indolence of the courtiers. The exception refers to Laud; whose translation to the see of London and paramount authority in the administration nearly coincided with the period of Wentworth's elevation, as both did with the fall of Buckingham. With a mind of less majestic dimensions, though more learnedly cultivated; with directness and integrity equal to Wentworth's steady and unquenchable ardour; below him in pride, as became a churchman, but as keenly capable of rigour, for conscience sake; as great in courage, as inflexible in constancy; above all, animated by like devotedness to the master whom both served "not wisely," but, in their view of duty, "well;"—Laud, whatever may be thought by

those who strangely discover the bond of these men's union in that most dissociative of principles, a common despotic will, was not unworthy of that intimacy with the larger-minded Wentworth which remained firm till violently and most affectingly terminated by death. Such as they were, these eminent persons continued to be the main agents of King Charles's government in Church and State, through many difficult, and, finally, disastrous years. They did not originate all his plans, but they were ever ready, in the fearlessness of duty, to carry forward even the worst of them. If they erred in an honest view of their duty, mistook the times, wounded the immature constitution, overrated even *their* abilities, or indulged private passion at the cost of the public weal; they received in their persons, and will ever be paying in their fame, the penalty of those whom Providence places, as doomed yet not useless barriers to the violent current of changeful times; augmenting, while they brave, the fury of the waters, but preparing fertility for other generations, by forcing them to sweep away injurious impediments, and then to waste their rage in diffusion.

The means by which the government of Charles I. endeavoured to provide for its exigencies, without parliamentary aid, are known to every one. Taxes on merchandize (the "tonnage and poundage" of the period); compositions for declining to receive knighthood; fines from those whose estates were discovered to have encroached on the ancient boundaries of the royal forests; patents of monopoly on an infinite number of articles of ordinary consumption; with other sources

of revenue, some of them unprecedented and illegal, the greater part arbitrarily and oppressively levied; all proved insufficient. Large sums were extorted, of which no more than a trifling proportion found its way into the treasury; for an unsettled despotism is always plundered, and always improvident. "It is now almost fifteen years," said Pym, in the first session of the Long Parliament, "since his majesty had any assistance from his people; and these illegal ways of supplying the king were never pressed with more violence and art than they have been in this time: and yet I may, upon very good grounds, affirm, that in the last fifteen years of Queen Elizabeth she received more by the bounty and affection of her subjects than hath come to his majesty's coffers by all the inordinate and rigorous courses which have been taken." Refusal to comply with these demands was frequent, and was followed in numerous instances by fine and imprisonment in the Star Chamber, or other oppressive courts.

A more memorable tax is celebrated under the name of Ship-money. A feeble and distracted government at home had diminished the respect in which England had formerly been held by foreign nations. Her ancient dominion of her own seas was slighted by her neighbours; corsairs from Barbary made descents upon her coasts. To repel these disgraceful aggressions, the sea-ports were required to equip vessels for the king's service; and the demand was presently extended to the whole kingdom, the inland counties compounding for their assessments in money. The funds

thus raised were honestly and successfully applied to the purposes for which they were required. But the demand was startling and novel — revived, at least, from the dust of forgotten records. Numbers opposed it, and were thrown into prison. Among the most memorable and important processes in judicial history, is that by which the legality of this impost was tried in the case of Hampden. The patriot's assessment, upon an extensive landed property, was twenty shillings. On so small a point turned the issue of a great constitutional question! Judgment was given for the crown; but as the judges were believed to be corrupted, and as the elaborate arguments of Hampden's counsel had convinced the nation that substantial right, if not the technical construction of statutes, favoured his cause, "the judgment," says Clarendon, "proved of more advantage to the gentleman condemned than to the king's service." Hampden, indeed, reaped a cheap immortality; but he was a man who had studied the art of winning golden opinions; a man whose constancy of purpose was shaded by caution, or smoothed by the blandest of demeanours; and *ship-money* was in all men's ears a hated word.

But, as will always be the case in this serious nation in unsettled times, the deepest and widest grounds of discontent were occupied by questions of religion. The people were kept in perpetual terror of popery by the slumber allowed to the existing statutes against papists, and by the insolence or indiscretion of that party, in consequence of Charles's

marriage with a daughter of Roman Catholic France, and of his known deference to the personal predilections of his queen. This, however, was only an aggravation of an older and more deeply seated grievance. It could not but befall, in the great conflict of the Reformation, that the antagonists of popery, driven at once by indignation, fear, and hatred, would take up on the other side some extreme, and such as in cooler times would appear, to sound judgments, untenable or worthless positions. These, when the purified National Church had been fixed on her own secure basis, all sane persons would have been ready to abandon, had no fresh causes of excitement arisen.

But events kept alarm wakeful; and timid natures, remembering as a terrible dream whose images oppress the waking fancy, the sanguinary and flaming horrors of the past, thought themselves less secure in the efficiency of their arms and ramparts than in remoteness from the hated foe. The most primitive vestment, if the Romish, though only in common with other churches, had adopted its use, retained the infection of Antichrist: observances the most venerable, in passing through that "chamber of abominable imagery," had become symbols of the mystic Babylon. That aversion to apostolical government, and that impatience of uniformity in rites and ceremonies, which abhorrence of popish corruption had already generated at home, were heightened by the sojourn of the Marian exiles among those reformed communities abroad,

whom not choice, but the pressure of circumstances, had deprived of episcopacy and the decorous adjuncts of a national church. The strictness of Elizabeth's ecclesiastical government, acting on the stubborn nature of conscientious Puritanism, increased both the number and the vehemence of the Church's enemies. A farther element of mischief was brought in after James had sent over his committee of divines to grace the synod of Dort. Davenant and his compeers on their return, inoculated the factions with a more virulent *type* of religious dissidence—the disputes of Prelatist and Puritan were henceforth to be sharpened by the reproachful appellations of Calvinist and Arminian; and, by a strange contradiction, a slavish theology, in which the Father of mankind takes the character of a despot, became the watchword of political and religious freedom.

With the authority, Laud had succeeded to the principles, of Cranmer, Whitgift, and Parker; but in worse times, and, as both prime minister and metropolitan, in circumstances at once more likely to betray him into violence, and expose him to obloquy. The Puritans, who in Elizabeth's reign, though turbulent, were comparatively inconsiderable, and hardly, till towards the close of that brilliant period, lifted their hands as a political party, grew formidable under James, and, after the accession of Charles, insolent; concessions — which they regarded as less than their due, and slight punishments—which raised them into credit with the multitude, turning equally to their advantage. Laud was fully awake to the

greatness of the danger; his error as a statesman lay in believing that the danger could be averted by an appliance, on the part of the rulers, of bare unyielding principle. He knew he had the king's perfect confidence; he felt he had a strong heart and unquenchable zeal; he trusted in the help of God, for he esteemed it *his* cause. Thus supported, he judged himself able to work out the justification of that policy which he felt convinced was just—to keep no terms with an implacable foe. "Resolve—there is no end of yielding," was his motto. This is the sole secret of that frequent reference to "thorough," which has been so much commented on in his correspondence with Strafford. To this principle we confidently refer all those public acts, which often irreconcilable both with charity and prudence, and rendered doubly irritating by a sharp ungracious demeanour, overwhelmed him at length in a tide of popular hatred without example. His preference of Papists to Puritans, as less dangerous and inveterate enemies to the Church (in which he agreed with Queen Elizabeth); his excessive zeal for the splendid externals of public worship; his measures for checking the perversion of pulpit influence to the furtherance of political designs; his revival of the obsolete jurisdiction of the ecclesiastical courts, in punishing gross profligacy of manners; even the enormity of his share in the mulcts and mutilations inflicted by the Star Chamber, in such cases as those of Leighton, Prynne, Bastwick, and Burton; — had all that origin. The offence for which these individuals were indicted, viz. the publication of libels on the hier-

archy, was one so prevalent and popular, that the existence of the Church seemed to depend on steps being taken for its discouragement. Their "censure" has nevertheless been, with justice, reprobated by historians, as equally cruel and impolitic. It proceeded from a tribunal already the object of popular odium; it was known to have been instigated by the prelates, whose actions needed no character of harshness to secure them an unfriendly colouring; the ignominy of the punishment outraged all the three great professions — for Prynne was a lawyer, Bastwick a physician, Burton a clergyman, and Leighton a Presbyterian divine; finally, the manner of its execution was calculated, as penalties for licentiousness of language and opinions commonly are, to invest aspiring malevolence with the honours of martyrdom.

While these and other concurrent events prepared England for a great political and religious explosion, it was in the king's northern dominions that the torch of revolution was first applied.

In the march of rapacity and violence which hurried forward the Reformation in Scotland, episcopacy was almost swept away. Only an obscure name and powerless existence remained, during many years, to intimate that law had not sealed its actual extinction. To restore the primitive worship and government of the church, in his native land, was among the fondest desires of Charles's heart, as it had been of his father's. Some distant preparatory steps toward this object had been taken by King James; but the attendance of Laud at the coronation of his royal successor, in the northern

capital, was indignantly perceived to have reference to an immediate plan for bringing that desire to effect. All orders of men looked on the progress of this design with unqualified disgust; for in Scotland hatred of episcopacy (where, indeed, from the ignorant or designed confounding of the ideas of pope and prelate, it had, as an abstract principle, its birth) was continually kept alive by two of the most powerful motives of human action—by self-interest among the nobles, and by religious enthusiasm among the people. In the meantime fatality, or infatuation, waited on every proceeding of the government. The Scotch bishops — persons in no esteem with the people, and whom the primate's fatal policy had made hateful to the nobility, by conferring on them the highest secular preferments — were directed to prepare a Liturgy and Canons. The result of their labours was submitted for revisal to the heads of the Anglican church; but, whether from distrust or contempt, the sanction of the native clergy was wholly overlooked. This was extreme imprudence towards a body who carried their notions of independence so high, and whose influence over their congregations was unbounded. Moreover, by a preposterous inadvertency, the canons made their appearance before the liturgy, to which they prescribed submission. Both were, in reality, inoffensive; the canons being chiefly a compilation from the acts of the General Assembly of Scotland, and the liturgy or service-book only just so much varied from the English Book of Common Prayer as was required by the national vanity of the northern prelates. Nevertheless the people were taught to re-

gard both as instruments of antichristian tyranny; and, as such, a determined stand was to be made against their introduction.

Till the day appointed for the publication of the service-book not a murmur was heard. The suppressed ire of the populace then first escaped in a riot of the lowest classes, chiefly women, which interrupted the public reading of the prayers, and endangered the lives of the officiating clergy. More perilous and decisive tumults succeeded; in which, by degrees, first the wealthy citizens, and finally the nobles, took part. For several months the government, contemptuously looking on, left the impotent local authorities to deal with its seditious subjects. At length a proclamation was sent down to assure the people of his majesty's regard for the Protestant religion, and to enforce the peace. By the treachery of some members of the privy council, the contents of this document became known in Scotland before its arrival. A counter proclamation was instantly prepared by the popular leaders, which, as if of equal authority with the king's, they read and posted up at Stirling, Lithgow, and Edinburgh; their armed partizans forcibly detaining the royal heralds to witness the completion of this daring act. The pretext of the tumultuous assemblies which convulsed the nation being to present petitions against the bishops and the liturgy, the magistrates consented to a plan devised and insidiously proposed by the leaders, for the establishment of central "tables," or committees, to represent the petitioning parties. So ably were these boards conducted, that

in a few weeks they had possessed themselves of unlimited authority throughout Scotland. An easy way was thus laid open to introduce the confederacy, so well remembered under the name of the "Solemn League and Covenant." The subscribers to this great national vow, after abjuring the superstitions of popery, in the language of a former covenant adopted in the reign of King James, and citing the several acts of parliament for the maintenance of the kirk, bound themselves, "according to the laudable example of their worthy and free progenitors, by the great name of the Lord their God," to defend their religion against all *novations*, and to stand by each other in resistance to the contrary errors and corruptions, to the uttermost, against all persons without exception. A solemn fast was observed, preparatory to subscribing. On the day appointed, multitudes of every rank, age, and sex, thronged the great church of St. Giles's and its precincts. The force, the freedom, and the extravagance of the republican model of devotion, rose, on this occasion to the highest pitch. Lifting their out-stretched hands towards heaven, the vast assembly swore to the national bond, amid shouts, and tears, and mutual embracements. The enthusiasm flew through the country; and all Scotland, with the exception of the immediate servants of the government, a few Roman Catholics, and the solitary town of Aberdeen, was bound together in this vast confederacy, by the strongest tie of human associations, a burning religious zeal.

Three months longer the government continued

wavering and irresolute. It then sent down the Marquess of Hamilton, Charles's principal minister for Scotch affairs, with a commission "to conclude and determine all things respecting the peace of the kingdom." To impress the commissioner with a high notion of their union and strength, the Covenanters, to the number of twenty thousand, on foot and on horseback, met and conducted him into the city; and seven hundred robed ministers are said to have placed themselves on an eminence by the roadside, and with one voice intonated a psalm as he passed by.

Hamilton had undertaken a difficult task. The demands of the confederates grew bolder as the negotiations advanced. Twice he journeyed to London, and twice returned to his increasingly excited countrymen with modified powers; bringing, on his second re-appearance, a surrender of every thing demanded — the abolition of the Liturgy, Canons, and High Commission Court; on the single condition, that for the new Covenant should be substituted that of King James. At the same time, a national assembly and a parliament were fixed, to discuss freely all questions in dispute.

With these concessions the clergy and the people were disposed to be content. Not so the secular leaders. The king, they said, could not mean to grant all he had promised; his object was to gain time to reduce them by force. In a large body, headed by several noblemen, they mounted a scaffold at the Market Cross of Edinburgh; where, sword in hand, they

delivered a formal protest, asserting their determination to persist in adherence to the Covenant.

The assembly met at Glasgow; but the members having been almost all returned by the overpowering influence of "the tables," the commissioner found himself wholly powerless before a majority resolved to carry forward the plans of the confederates. At the end of seven days, therefore, he dissolved the unmanageable convention, quitting it in the midst of a burst of real or affected grief; and departed for England. But the assembly refused to separate. Under the auspices of the Marquess of Argyle, who from this time became the acknowledged head of the Covenanters, the dissolution was annulled, and Episcopacy abolished, with every other existing institution which could interfere with the joyful deliverance of Scotland from the absorbing terror of "popish and prelatic tyranny."

Naturally concluding that the king would seek by force to suppress the rebellion, the Covenanters now began to make warlike preparations. Troops were levied, arms purchased, the Scottish soldiers of fortune serving on the Continent invited home. Encouragement was not wanting from the discontented party in England; from France came the not less important aid of money. Lesley, a veteran from the wars of Germany, was appointed to the chief command; and forthwith began hostilities by seizing the castles of Edinburgh and Dumbarton. The king, on his part, proceeded with as much alacrity as his want of resources permitted. At York, in which point the royal forces were concen-

tred, he was met by a brilliant feudal gathering of the nobility and chief gentry of the realm; from thence he advanced to the vicinity of Berwick. Thither Lesley drew his Covenanters—twenty thousand men, indifferently equipped, but inspired with zeal which was kept constantly at a boiling temperature by the unwearied vehemence of pulpit oratory. Charles's troops were equal in number, and far better provided; but without heart for the quarrel. Conscious of the unpopularity of his cause, and reluctant to shed his subjects' blood, he readily admitted commissioners from the Scottish camp; with whom was presently concluded, on the basis of the conditions before proposed at Edinburgh by Hamilton, the miserable armistice known in the history of the time as the Pacification of Berwick.

It was a fatal hour for England, when—whoever might be its true author—the attempt was made to force religious uniformity on the associated kingdom. The temper in which that measure was long pursued was plainly contempt—contempt for the independence of the kirk, and for the spirit of Scotchmen. But it is a dangerous thing to despise a nation—even for a great nation to despise a mean one. Scotland became powerful, less in her own deep sense of wrong endured, than in England's consciousness of wrong inflicted; unnerved by a sympathy half magnanimous, half traitorous, England became the dupe and the victim of her wily sister, in requital for having treated her in a delicate point as her vassal.

CHAPTER II.

STRAFFORD.

While that hapless arrangement, the Pacification of Berwick, was looked upon as dishonourable in England, by the Scots its stipulations were disregarded. Instead of disbanding their army, which they had engaged to do, the Covenanters dismissed a part only of the troops, and kept in pay all the officers; nor were the lawless proceedings of the unarmed revolters abated.

Already, in Scotland, Wentworth's was a name of hatred and of terror. A report, that he intended to cross the Channel at the head of a body of troops, was among the earliest pretexts of the Covenanters for flying to arms. This report had no foundation in fact; yet the energy of his government awed into stillness and inaction their numerous countrymen settled in Ireland, who had begun to take the Covenant, and had shown an eager disposition to join the insurgents. Wentworth, however, was not blinded, either by the boldness of his temper or by the readiness of his resources, to the delicacy of the king's position; he well knew the financial difficulties of the government, and its want of support in public opinion; and justly apprehended the odium that would attach to the side which should be the foremost to shed blood in civil strife.

Though not directly consulted, it is probable that to the lord-deputy's earnest advice, in his correspondence with the king, to remain on the defensive, was chiefly owing the facility with which Charles yielded to an accommodation.

Foreseeing — perhaps, designing — in that measure, a delay merely of the war, Charles now sent for the sole minister on whose counsels he could depend for its conduct. Preceded in the atmosphere of the court by dread of his paramount influence, in the nation by anxious curiosity respecting its probable results, Wentworth hurried over; scarcely, in his zeal to serve his master, allowing himself to be retarded by a terrible attack of one of his habitual diseases, which at that time weighed him down. Of several honours conferred on him by the king at his arrival, the most distinguished was an earldom, by the title—which his greatness and misfortunes afterwards impressed so deeply on the national memory—of Strafford. The Earl of Strafford's advice decided the renewal of the war, and the assembling of a parliament. Laying down a munificent contribution towards the expense of raising an army, he again, though severe illness continued to press on him, hastened to Ireland; and, in an incredibly short space of time, returned once more, with a large subsidy from the parliament of that country, having besides secured for the king a levy of eight thousand horse and foot.

Not so obsequious was the parliament which now met in England. Although, of the great popular orators of 1628 some were wanting, and with them

was absent the fervid excitement of that period, yet the same spirit was there—only calmer, because more assured; more cautious, because too confident to risk any thing by prematurely advancing. The manifest wants of the king were coldly put aside, on the old ground of precedence being due to the people's grievances. In vain Charles, among other arguments to enforce his assertion that delay was ruin, brought forward the celebrated letter, in which the Scotch had traitorously solicited aid of the French king. The opposition were in no haste to put down a movement, which, they had long foreseen, was to be their most effective auxiliary. Already an interchange of friendly offices and familiar counsels had been established. It is said, that Scotch intrigue had carried the election of more than one member: that the commissioners of the Covenanters, now in London, were in the full confidence of the English party, is certain. To none were the doors of the Lords Dunferline and Loudon more familiarly thrown open than to Essex, Bedford, and Holland, to Say, to Hampden, and to Pym. Hither came the representatives of every class in England who felt, or fancied, any oppression, or indulged a hope of change; those who had been taxed without law, and those who had been imprisoned without mercy; the haters of bishops, and the friends of the presbytery; the restless patriot, who was seeking reformation of the state by any means; the sullen or the smooth republican, who by any means had vowed its overthrow.

The sudden dissolution of this parliament was followed by the regret of most honest and unsuspicious

men; and by the rage of the populace, who had been prematurely taught that the day of its assembling was their time of promise. Those in the secret, who saw farther, smiled—as the usurer smiles, his finger on the bond, and his eye turned to the day of reckoning, when the prodigal flings over to him all but his last possession. The blame of the dissolution has been unfairly divided between the elder Vane, whose weakness, or treachery, was really in fault; and Laud, who had as little share in it as any other of the king's ministers, Popular odium however fixed it, as it did every sinister occurrence in church or state, upon the archbishop; and this imputation nearly cost the aged primate his life, in a tumultuous assault upon his palace at Lambeth.

Meantime, in the north, "rebellion prospered." Lesley's army had been ready to march towards the inviting south, whenever the crisis might be judged meetest for "promoting," by their presence beyond the border, "the peace of both nations and the honour of the king." The king, on the contrary, had to contend with two fatal difficulties in raising the means to receive, as he thought became him, this armed visit of his northern subjects—want of money, and a more than unwilling disposition in his levies. At length, by order of Strafford—who, with the title of Lieutenant-General, had taken the chief command—Lord Conway, with three thousand foot and fifteen hundred horse, but in a state bordering on mutiny, advanced to dispute the passage of the Tyne. "When," says

M. Guizot, "the army came in sight of the Scots, the insubordination increased. The soldiers beheld the Covenant float on their banners; they heard the drum summon the troops to sermon, and their camp at sunrise resound with the voice of prayer and psalmody. At this spectacle, at the accounts which had reached them of the pious ardour and friendly dispositions of Scotland for the English people, by turns softened to tenderness and stung with indignation, they cursed the impious war, and were already vanquished, for they conceived themselves brought to fight against their brethren and their God." The Scots, with little resistance, passed the river at Newbourne; the English retreating before them towards Yorkshire: not, perhaps, so sentimentally affected, as in the preceding extract they are described; but, certainly, with such a remarkable melting away of the ancient contemptuous valour of Englishmen, when opposed to their northern neighbours, as can be explained only on the supposition of a strong sympathy, whether the consequence of mutual misrepresentation, or of a sense of common injuries.

Indignation at the novel pusillanimity of his countrymen, mingling with scorn for the rebel Scots — which that people repaid with an animosity that nothing less than his blood could assuage — Strafford wasted himself in strenuous efforts to inspire his officers with the same spirit of loyalty that animated his own bosom, and to put the retreating army in a condition to chastise the invaders. Vain were all his exertions:

in spite of threats and blandishments, he was borne back upon York, leaving the northern counties in the undisputed possession of the enemy.

No longer able to forego the aid of his people, Charles, as an alternative at once readier and less galling than a parliament, now summoned, at York, a great council of peers, in conformity with the feudal practice of some of his predecessors. An interval of fifteen days, which elapsed between the issuing of the proclamation and the assembling of the council, was employed by Pym, Hampden, and St. John, in procuring the signatures of twelve noblemen, to a petition for a parliament. A second petition, with the same prayer, subscribed by ten thousand citizens of London, was quickly followed by others; all set on foot by the same untiring band of patriots. Charles found it impossible to consider the assembly at York in any other light than as an expedient to supply the instant emergency. In his opening speech he announced a parliament for the ensuing November, and, at the same time, the actual commencement of negotiations with the Scots; the management of the treaty he consented to intrust to sixteen peers, every one of whom was connected with the popular party. The king desired to have it conducted at York; but to this the Convenanters, who had now the game in their own hands, objected, on the pretence that Strafford, their grand enemy, the chief "firebrand" of the commonwealth, held the government of that city: it was, in consequence, opened at Ripon.

Strafford now felt that the cause was lost, for which

he had so long toiled and suffered. Yet, before finally sheathing his sword from so fatal and inglorious a campaign, he resolved to justify the confidence he had already put on record: that if the king could be persuaded even then to try his fortune in a battle, he would undertake, on peril of his head, to drive the Scots beyond their borders. A cessation of arms had not yet been formally agreed upon; Strafford therefore judged it no breach of faith to the invader, to dispatch an officer with a troop of horse to attack his quarters in Durham. The expedition was successful; many of the Covenanters were slain, and their officers taken prisoners. This action brought, however, no advantage to the king, while it farther exasperated the earl's enemies against himself. Loud was the outcry of the Scots; the English commissioners complained that they were compromised; finally, the king was constrained, by a strict order to Strafford to forbear, to tie up the only hands that were willing to strike for his cause. A second disgraceful treaty secured the grand object of the Covenanters, and entailed on England a fatal civil war, with the overthrow of the church and the monarchy. Charles, wholly without the means of paying his own troops, agreed to maintain, at an enormous cost, the army of the invaders, on the soil of England; and, when prudence would have dictated the assembling of the parliament any where rather than in the capital, whose disaffection was notorious, he not only convened his parliament in London, but transferred to that city the completion of the treaty with the Scots. Thither their

commissioners hastened, elated by success, and secure of being surrounded with friends and partisans, and with facilities of adding to their numbers and their consequence.

The steps of the patriot leaders while these events were passing, though secret, have not escaped the search of history. Pym, their acknowledged head, is said by Lord Clarendon to have continued, after the unhappy dissolution, for the most part in and about London, industriously improving the prevalent jealousies and discontents. The correspondence of the party with the Convenanters, established long before, was now securely and diligently kept up by means of the Scotch commissioners. In London their meetings were held at the house of Pym, in Gray's Inn Lane. In the country, Lord Say's house at Broughton, in Oxfordshire, and Sir Richard Knightley's at Fawsley, in Northamptonshire, were the scenes of frequent consultation. At Fawsley they had a private press in active employment. It was in the convenient seclusion of those mansions — to which tradition has attached several anecdotes connected with events so deeply interesting — that those great designs received a mature shape, which were brought forward at the beginning of the Long Parliament.

The issuing of the writs for that memorable convention became the signal of fresh activity. Pym and Hampden, we are told, "in the discharge of their great duty, as chiefs and advisers of the people" in this stirring crisis, made the circuit of all the counties of England. Other members of the party were not less

diligent, in the respective districts where their influence was strongest. Their success, in general, may be inferred from the report of the Earl of Warwick; who, writing from York, so lately the residence of the king, and still the head-quarters of Strafford, assures them that "the game was well begun."

Though occupied with the affairs of the army, Strafford had too high a stake in that game to remain an inattentive spectator of the march of public events. Magnanimous as he was, his keen eye could not but rest with anxiety on that dark spot of the cloud now hanging over the king's affairs, which threatened his own personal safety. Perhaps, amidst the presageful thoughts which swept frowningly across that bright but troubled sphere — the intellect of Wentworth, was the parting threat of the man whom he now saw every day developing larger capacities to "ride on and direct" the coming "whirlwind." He sought permission to return to Ireland; alleging, that while the absence from parliament of a minister so obnoxious would remove an obstacle to the settlement of the king's affairs, and enable him to provide for his own safety, his services would at the same time be more available in that kingdom to the royal cause. But Charles, who began to perceive how few friends he really had, relied mainly on the genius, the energy, and faithfulness of the lord-lieutenant to support him in the approaching shock: "he could not want his advice," he said, "in the great transactions that were like to be in this parliament. As he was king of England, he was able," he added, "to secure him

from any danger; and the parliament should not touch a hair of his head." Strafford yielded.

The day—the 3rd of November, 1640—arrived, when an eagerly expectant nation saw assemble the most extraordinary and eventful parliament in English history. Laud was advised to have the ceremony deferred; the 3d of November being of ill omen in the history of parliaments, as signalised by the opening of that, in Henry the Eighth's reign, which was fatal in its commencement to Wolsey, and at its close to the dominant church. As if to countenance these forebodings, the ceremonial of the day was shorn of its usual pomp. "The king," observes the noble historian of the period, "did not ride with his accustomed equipage, or in his usual majesty, to Westminster; but went privately in his barge to the parliament stairs, and after to the church, as if it had been to a return of a prorogued or adjourned parliament." Never had king of England been less supported by valour, virtue, ability, or attachment in his nobles, than Charles I. on that day; never had king of England beheld in the Commons so many countenances expressive of haughty confidence in the justice of the cause they designed to assert, or in their ability to assert it with success, as Charles in that numerous assemblage, which thronged to hear the royal speech! There stood Pym—by experience, learning, industry, and a grave, yet facile eloquence, undisputed leader; Hampden, formidable by his great abilities, more formidable by his arts of popularity; the dark St. John; the accomplished Denzil Holles; the able though less

decided Nathaniel Fiennes; the rich-minded enthusiast, the younger Vane. Of the Peers, were associated with them the Earls of Bedford and Essex, the Lords Kimbolton and Say, who, in their house, took the lead, echoed and supported by the Earls of Warwick, Holland, and Hertford, the Lords Brooke, Paget, and William Fiennes. The truest and ablest friends to the king, the admirable Falkland and the romantic Digby, Hyde, Selden, Rudyard, equally distinguished by their talents and their virtues, were also, at this time—as, for a little longer, it became such men to be—on the side of the opposition.

If the despondency of the court was indicated in the absence of its accustomed splendour at that great solemnity, and in the subdued tone of the king's speech, its weakness also was manifest in its failing to carry the election of the person whom the king had designed to fill the Speaker's chair. All circumstances, indeed, surprisingly concurred to confirm the patriots in their lofty ground and determined front. Even Hampden, therefore, at length fitting his exterior to his views, stood forth a "root and branch" reformer. Their conscious strength in parliament; the well-ascertained support of opinion without; the maturity of their vast plans;—every thing justified a mien and language which were characterised, not by the indecorum, but by the boldness and nerve of menace and defiance. In fact, the real power of the state had already passed into the hands of a few bold, active, and large-thoughted men, who embodied the national demand for a secure settlement of public liberty. These

swayed the house by their eloquence; governed the empire by their committees; drew after them the house of Peers; and, finally, bowed the sovereign at their feet. Issuing from the bar of the Lords, scarcely a member entered the Commons' house without a petition in strong language from his constituents against grievances in church and state; others were brought to the door by the petitioners in person, accompanied in several instances, by processions, on horseback and on foot, from distant counties. The presentation of these was taken advantage of by many members to deliver speeches of extreme violence and acrimony, against every act of the government during the greater part of the king's reign. The appointment of above forty committees followed, including five called grand; *i. e.* committees of the whole house, for trade, religion, Irish affairs, general grievances, and courts of justice. These, under the mask of inquiry, assumed substantial jurisdiction over all the public institutions, and over the rights and liberty of the subject. A day was appointed for a general fast; on which occasion both the clergymen nominated to preach, respectively, before the Lords and Commons, were known to be dissatisfied with the existing church government; and each recommended in his sermon a solemn league and covenant for reformation. To swell the popular cry against grievances, orders were issued to the gaolers to dismiss from prison the victims of the law: Prynne, Bastwick, and Burton, with Leighton and Lilburne, their fellow-sufferers, under sentence from the courts of Star Chamber and High Commission, were sent for "to

prosecute before the house the business of petitions presented on their behalf." So passed the first week.

Meanwhile, the Earl of Strafford was still with the army. His friends in parliament, startled by the temper and tendency of the debates, warned him that they had reason to apprehend a design to procure his impeachment. He hastened up to London, ill, as usual; but not till he had taken the precaution to furnish himself with such proofs of the correspondence with the Scots, as might justify his anticipating that measure, by first impeaching his enemies.

It was the 10th of November when the earl arrived in the capital. On the 11th rose Pym, in the midst of a fierce debate on Ireland; and, with the gesture of one who embraces on a sudden a great resolve, demanded the attention of the house. He had a business, he said, of that weighty importance to impart, that it might reach the ears of none but members. Strangers were immediately excluded from the lobby, the doors locked, and the keys of the house laid upon the table. The report, from Clarendon, of the speech that followed, may serve, slight as it is, to convey some notion both of the temper and ability of the speaker. "Mr. Pym," says the noble historian, "in a long, formed discourse, lamented the miserable state and condition of the kingdom, aggravated all the particulars which had been done amiss in the government, as done and contrived maliciously, and upon deliberation, to change the whole frame, and to deprive the nation of all the liberty and property which was their birthright by

the laws of the land, which were now no more considered, but subjected to the arbitrary power of the privy counsel, which governed the kingdom according to their will and pleasure; these calamities falling upon us in the reign of a pious and virtuous king, who loved his people, and was a great lover of justice.' And thereupon enlarging in some specious commendations of the nature and goodness of the king, that he might wound him with less suspicion, he said, 'We must inquire from what fountain these waters of bitterness flowed; what persons they were who had so far insinuated themselves into his royal affections as to be able to pervert his excellent judgment, to abuse his name, and wickedly apply his authority to countenance and support their own corrupt designs. Though he doubted there would be many found of this class, who had contributed their chief endeavours to bring this misery upon the nation; yet he believed there was ONE more signal in that administration than the rest, being a man of great parts and contrivance, and of great industry to bring what he designed to pass; a man who, in the memory of many present, had sat in that house an earnest vindicator of the laws, and a most zealous assertor and champion for the liberties of the people: but that it was long since he turned apostate from those good affections, and, according to the custom and nature of apostates, was become the greatest enemy to the liberties of his country, and the greatest promoter of tyranny, that any age has produced.' And then he named 'the Earl of Strafford, lord-lieutenant of Ireland, and lord-president of the

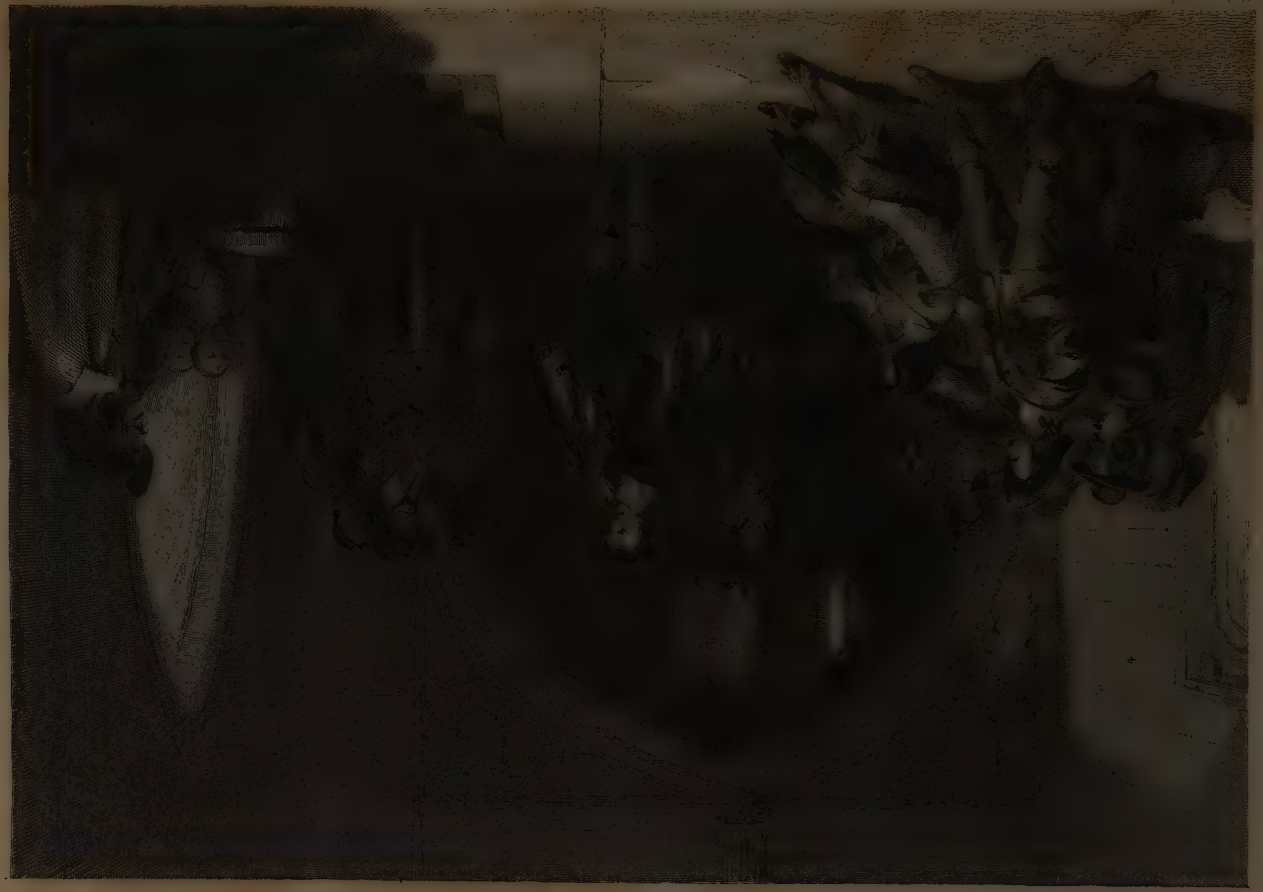
conncil established in York, for the northern parts of the kingdom; who, he said, had in both places, and in all other provinces wherein his services had been used by the king, raised ample monuments of his tyrannical nature; and that he believed, if they took a short survey of his actions and behaviour, they would find him the principal author and promoter of all those counsels which had exposed the kingdom to so much ruin:' and so instanced some high and impious actions done by him in England and in Ireland, some proud and over-confident expressions in discourse, and some passionate advices he had given in the most secret counsels and debates of the affairs of state; adding some lighter passages of his vanity and amours; that they who were not inflamed with anger and detestation against him for the former, might have less esteem and reverence for his prudence and discretion: and so concluded, 'That they would well consider how to provide a remedy proportionable to the disease, and to prevent the farther mischiefs which they were to expect from the continuance of this great man's power and credit with the king, and his influence upon his counsels.'" Several other speakers took up and carried on the discussion; and so passionately intent on it were all sides of the house, that a request of the Lords for a conference on Scotch affairs, by which they were unwillingly interrupted, was put aside; while, at the same time, the Commons, by an intimation sent to some of their friends in the Lords, desired that house not to rise: "which," observes Clarendon, "would otherwise have very much broken their measures. In

conclusion," he continues, "after many hours of bitter inveighing, and ripping up the course of his life before his coming to court, and his actions after, it was moved, according to the secret resolution taken before, 'that he might be forthwith impeached of high treason.'"

Lord Falkland, though no friend to Strafford, was the only man in the house — such was the sweep with which Pym had carried passion, conviction, and resolve along with him — who offered to interpose, by even qualifying his assent. That excellent person "modestly" desired the house to consider, that it might be more consistent with the dignity of their proceedings to examine and digest in a committee the particulars which had been brought forward, before they sent up to accuse him. "Delay," it was replied by Pym, "would ruin all their hopes. Such was the earl's credit with the king, that if allowed to approach his majesty, a dissolution of parliament, in order to escape its justice, would be the certain result; whereas, if they proceeded on the instant, the Lords would have no alternative but to commit him to immediate custody." In allusion to some doubts which had been thrown out, whether all the particulars alleged would, if proved, amount to high treason, he added, that "the House of Commons were not judges, but accusers only." The Lords, who probably had a suspicion that these unwonted proceedings regarded some of their own body, and are accordingly supposed to have sent their messengers, under cover of a conference, in reality to gain information, were at length

relieved from suspense by the apparition of Pym at their bar; where, "in the name of the Commons assembled in Parliament, and of all the Commons of England," he accused "Thomas Earl of Strafford, lord-lieutenant of Ireland, of high treason;" and desired their lordships, in their name, that he might forthwith be committed to prison.

The scene which followed will be described in the words, nearly as they stand, of that gossiping annalist of the day, Principal Baillie, whose curiosity and garrulousness, stimulated by Presbyterian spite to the accused nobleman, have left posterity a narrative of it, which, for graphic liveliness, no historian has equalled.—"As soon as Mr. Pym withdrew, the Lords began to consult on that strange and unexpected motion. The word goes in haste to the lord-lieutenant, where he was with the king. With speed he comes to the house; he calls rudely at the door; James Maxwell, keeper of the black rod, opens. His lordship, with a proud glooming countenance, makes towards his place at the board-head: but at once many bid him quit the house; so he is forced, in confusion, to go to the door till he was called. After consultation, being called in, he stands, but is commanded to kneel; and on his knees to hear the sentence. Being on his knees, he is delivered to the keeper of the black rod, to be prisoner till he was cleared of those crimes the House of Commons had charged him with. He offered to speak, but was commanded to be gone without a word. In the outer room, Maxwell required him, as a prisoner, to deliver his sword. When he had got it,



he cries, with a loud voice, for his man to carry my lord-lieutenant's sword. This done, he makes through a number of people towards his coach; all gazing, no man capping to him, before whom, that morning, the greatest of England would have stood uncovered. Coming to the place where he expected his coach, it was not there; so he behoves to return that same way, through a world of gazing people. When at last he had found his coach, and was entering, Maxwell told him, 'Your lordship is my prisoner, and must go in my coach;' so he behoved him to do." From the house of this James Maxwell, who presents no unimportant figure in the events of the period, the earl was, after a few days, committed to the Tower; that last home, on earth, of so many of the great and brave of England.

This terrible feat of infant Freedom shews to what strength she had already been fostered in her cradle, the Commons' house of Parliament. To venture to will, to dare to resolve, was all that was now needed there to give success to any project conceived in her name. With a hurried hand, merely, can we touch even the prominent incidents that now marked her growth. Persons who had been in any way concerned in monopolies, were voted by the house to be unworthy of occupying its benches. The ship-money tax, and the judgment in Hampden's case, were declared subversive of property, of the laws, of the resolutions of former parliaments, and of the Petition of Rights. A petition prepared at the instance of the Scotch commissioners, signed by fifteen thousand inhabitants of London,

praying that episcopal government might be abolished, with all its dependencies, roots, and branches, was received without objection. In this petition Laud was struck at — the remaining great obstacle in the path of reform. Farther, to prepare the way for the archbishop's impeachment, the canons issued by the convocation, which sat during and for some time after the last parliament, were condemned as contrary to the fundamental laws of the realm, the prerogatives of the king, and the rights of the subject; while articles were delivered, in a conference of the two houses, by the Scotch commissioners, in which he was charged, with Strafford, as the prime author of all the miseries that had befallen the two nations. Two days later, viz. 18th December, an accusation of high treason was brought forward against "William Laud, archbishop of Canterbury," in the name of the Commons of England. It was adopted, after a short but strongly vituperative debate led by Pym: for this time, however, the leader waved his peculiar office, and Denzil Holles carried up the impeachment to the bar of the Lords. The primate was consigned to the custody of Maxwell; and after a costly durance of ten weeks, under the roof of that useful person, the gates of the Tower opened to him likewise.

Retribution now reached minor delinquents. Sir George Ratcliffe, who, as the friend and "confederate" of Strafford, had been sent for from Ireland, immediately after the earl's impeachment, on an accusation of treason, followed his master to the Tower. Informations were laid against the Bishops of Ely and

Bath, and against a Durham prebendary, for "*idolatry* and superstition;" they were obliged to give securities, the prelates to the amount of 10,000*l.* each, the prebendary in 4000*l.* "Complaints," we are told by the historian of Puritanism, "were made against several other bishops and clergymen, but the house had too many affairs upon their hands to attend to their prosecution." Yet the records of parliament shew that the clergy of inferior rank were not so commonly overlooked, as minor delinquents among the laity certainly were; and it is observable that, from the opening of the session, accusations against all classes of ecclesiastics were entertained with marked encouragement. Windebanke, the secretary of state, and the lord-keeper Finch, were driven to the Continent, to avoid the charges of high treason suspended over them. Such of the other judges as had concurred with Finch in the decision respecting ship-money, were bound in recognisances to the amount of 10,000*l.* each, to abide the judgment of parliament; one only, Sir Robert Berkeley, excepted. That "learned man, and good orator and judge," as Whitelocke styles him, was impeached before the Lords, and by their command taken off the bench, in the open court, by their usher Maxwell, and carried to prison: "which," the memorialist subjoins, "struck a great terror in the rest of his brethren then sitting in Westminster Hall, and in all his profession." Prynne and his fellow-martyrs, in obedience to the order of the Commons, entered London in triumph, amidst the acclamations of the citizens; their sentences were declared illegal, and heavy

damages were awarded them out of the estates of the archbishop and the other members of the council who had sat on their trial. The house also voted a gratuity of 300,000*l.* to their "brethren" of Scotland. We might wonder whither had flown the valiant and haughty spirit of the English, when we find them thus lavishing endearments and liberality on those who, at this time, actually held, as if by right of conquest, some of the best provinces of England; did we not know that, independently of all party exaggeration, the vexations of the people had been such, as made them willing to hold out the grateful hand of fellowship to any party who brought, or professed to bring, deliverance for them from the evils of arbitrary power. As to the parliamentary leaders, they were not to be deterred by the remonstrances of national honour, from a vote which at once so deeply obliged their serviceable friends, and added to the embarrassments of the sovereign.

In the midst of every other business, the great affair of Strafford's impeachment was zealously urged forward. For more than four months, through which the preliminary arrangements extended, the anxious attention and boundless power of the House of Commons were taxed, that nothing might be left undone to secure justice on the accused, to manifest the dignity and authority of the house, and to vindicate the laws. On the side of the defence, the way was not so clear. It has already been noticed that Strafford's impeachment was instantly followed up by that of his friend and assistant Ratcliffe; at the same time, all inter-

course between the prisoners, and all visits to either from members of parliament, were prohibited. The Commons were unwilling that counsel should be allowed; this, though overruled by the Lords, in respect to points of law, was agreed to as regarded matter of fact: intending to manage the accusation by their own members, the Commons desired to be present at the trial as a house of parliament; the Lords not assenting, it was agreed they should sit as a committee of the whole house. The articles of accusation, as reported by the committee of impeachment, at their first presentation in November, were only nine; as finally taken up to the Lords by Pym, on the 30th of December, they had swelled to the number of twenty-eight. These charges were of great length, and referred to the public and private incidents of fourteen years of a life of unusual activity. The earl desired three months to prepare his answer: the Commons opposed: the Lords directed three weeks to be allowed; at the end of which period, February 24th, the answers to each several accusation were read to the house in the presence of the king, and the trial was fixed for the 22d of the following month.

While these preparations were in progress, nothing was omitted on Charles's part which appeared likely to soften the hostility of Strafford's enemies. He sent for the houses, and addressed them in an exceedingly conciliatory speech. He had been long and loudly inveighed against for suffering the impunity of Papists; he now placed at the disposal of the Commons the life of a condemned priest, on whom they had desired

justice to be done. He consented to a bill for triennial parliaments; and intimated his willingness to wave the claims of the crown in regard to the royal forests. A further plan to which the king yielded, was no less than to throw the great offices of state into the hands of the patriots. The framework of a cabinet, to be constructed on this principle, was actually laid down, and the project in part executed. But the members disagreeing on the two great conditions required by the king,—viz. security to the church, and the preservation of Strafford,—the negotiation fell to the ground, leaving the whole party more incensed than ever. Finally, Charles gave what has justly been termed a "suicidal" consent to the examination of the members of his privy council, on oath, at the approaching trial.

Strafford's trial was the most solemn and august judicial inquiry, in its circumstances, as it was the most elaborate in its preparation, which England had ever witnessed. It was for the life or death—or rather for the death only; for that was a point to be gained, at all events—of one so great and dangerous, that three realms rose up by their representatives to be his accusers; and, as the day approached, the eyes of their millions of citizens (of whom all, and to the remotest posterity of each, had a vital interest involved) were turned, with earnest emotion, towards Westminster Hall; that largest abode of "the British Nemesis" being chosen as alone not unworthy of the occasion.

At an early hour on the appointed morning the

noble prisoner came from the Tower, accompanied by the lieutenant and one hundred soldiers, armed with partizans, in six barges, rowed by fifty pair of oars. On landing at Westminster, he was received by double the number of the trained bands; those citizen-soldiers, whose subsequent familiarity with the view of great men in adversity had now its beginning, in the instance of one who in bearing it nobly has not been excelled. Disease and care — not age — had begun to impress on Strafford the appearance of bodily decay; but his countenance was marked with intellectual vigour, and bore the impress of authority. Awed, in spite of hate, by the actual presence of the individual whose name had often stirred them with terror, the crowd falls back; even the rudest vail their bonnets — a token of respect which the earl courteously acknowledges.

The entrance by which Strafford was brought into the hall was on one side, at the lower end. He is preceded by Maxwell; advancing to whom, an officer inquires whether the axe is to be borne before the prisoner: "The king," replies Maxwell, "has expressly forbidden it!" Balfour, the lieutenant, now conducts the accused to the bar, where a space, furnished with seats and a bench, is enclosed for him, for his gaoler, his counsel, and secretaries. "After obeisances given," he kneels; and, rising, looks calmly round upon a scene of imposing grandeur.

In the centre of that proud historic chamber sit Strafford's judges, the Lords of England. They are covered, and all wear the habits of temporal peers;

for the prelates have been persuaded to take no part in the judgment. With them, in scarlet robes, appear the lord-keeper and his brethren of the legal bench; and, at their head, fronting his compeers, sits the Earl of Arundel, for this occasion lord high-steward of England. At the upper end of the hall, under a canopy of state above the peers, are placed two raised seats, designed for the king and the Prince of Wales, but unoccupied. On either side the canopy of state runs a small gallery, closed with trellis-work; one of these contains the king and queen, the prince, and their attendants; the other accommodates such foreigners of distinction as have been attracted by this high solemnity. Scaffolds, rising stage above stage, on each side of the hall, are filled, respectively, by the great accusing parties; the Commons of England, uncovered, on the lower benches; in those above, their assessors, the Lords of Ireland and the Commissioners of Scotland: with whom are mingled many spectators, mostly persons of quality. The peeresses and other ladies present occupy a gallery at the foot of the throne. Adjoining the place assigned to the accused, a similar space encloses the managers of the impeachment; a band of the ablest lawyers and most eloquent statesmen of that great age of English intellect.

The lord-steward rises, and commands the trial to proceed.

The treason charged against the prisoner, it was contended by his accusers, was either particular, consisting in individual acts of a treasonable nature; or

cumulative, the aggregate result of many acts tending to a treasonable design. The articles of impeachment were distributed over his whole official life — as president of the North; in his government of Ireland; as chief minister, since his return, of England. In proportion, however, as it became clear that the evidence could not sustain this accumulated charge, the Commons altered their accusation to "an attempt to subvert the fundamental laws of the country, and to introduce an arbitrary and tyrannical government." But, as no such offence is specified in the statute, or recognised by the common law, they demanded that he should be tried, not merely by the rules of the courts, but by certain maxims said to be inherent in what we now call the constitution.

To Pym, chiefly — if not to him alone — belonged the credit of that philosophic tact, or that vindictive boldness, by which it was resolved to carry out the substantial allegation, beyond the reach of law, into the awful, but dangerous and indefinite, regions of Eternal Right. Into that abyss, whither an arbitrary power in a state may, at any time, on the falsest pretences, thrust to their destruction the doomed victims of its will, Strafford, remembering he stood before the legal tribunal of his peers, deemed it needless to look: with the question as one of law, it was not hard for such a mind to deal.

For fifteen days, he, with manifest success, directed his defence to this point. Though suffering grievously from disease, and surrounded with embarrassing difficulties, some, and the worst of them, thrown in his

way by his accusers, once only in all that time did he permit himself to be led by his natural heat of temper to make a recriminatory observation. He asserted, indeed, on all occasions, his right; when that was allowed, modestly thanked his judges; complained not when it was refused; and, in reference to an angry and insulting remark by one of the managers, on his insisting upon a point of order, which he regarded as of vital importance to his defence, merely observed, that he thought he had as good a right to defend his life, as any person had to endeavour to take it away. His eloquence, acknowledged by his accusers to have been "full of weight and reason," was regulated by manly temper combined with the finest flow of diction and the most finished grace of delivery; while his countenance, exhibiting a severe loftiness, natural to the man, with conscious intellectual power, shaded by suffering and a just sensibility to his condition, harmonised well both with his past greatness and his present misfortunes. The effect is described as strikingly favourable. The clergy, the courtiers, above all, the ladies in that illustrious auditory, are loud in admiration. The general sentiment penetrates to the judicial benches; and the Commons perceive, with undissembled vexation, that the peers are recovering the courage to be just. Vehement cries of "Withdraw! withdraw!" resounding from their galleries, startle the court. The members retire within their own walls, and there, amid tumultuous confusion, debate the question, "What is next to be done?"

CHAPTER III.

STRAFFORD'S FAREWELL.

The genius of Pym had long since anticipated the reply. Should so pernicious a foe to liberty be allowed to escape for want of a specific statute, or known law, capable of reaching his great crimes? It was not to be thought of! To the remedy for their difficulties he had pointed, when he argued for the existence of a treason against the principle of justice, as well as treason in violation of the law; for a treason against the people, no less than against the sovereign. The remedy was a bill of attainder — the ready instrument of tyranny, and tacitly acknowledged such by these statesmen themselves, when they inserted in it the much-lauded proviso (what action may not win praise from partisans?) that this attainder should not be acted upon by the judges as a precedent in determining the crime of treason. To give the necessary support to his plan, Pym, resorting once more to the solemnity of closed doors, announced a discovery involving important supplemental evidence of Strafford's guilt. It consisted in a minute of the privy council on Scotch affairs, in May, purporting to contain words spoken by Strafford

to the king, advising his majesty to employ the army of Ireland to reduce England. These minutes had formerly been found by the younger Vane, in his father's library. The bill — it was already prepared — was produced, and instantly read. The trial now proceeded upon the additional evidence; to which Strafford having replied, was called upon to make his final answer to the facts.

The earl began by alluding to the advantages possessed by his accusers, and—in gentle terms—to the violence with which those advantages had been pressed, to bear down a man standing alone against the whole authority and power of the House of Commons; his health impaired, his memory weakened, the order of his thoughts discomposed. In a tone of cheerful and generous confidence, he threw himself upon the justice of his judges; giving God thanks that they were the peers of England, and celebrating the wisdom of those times "which had so ordained."

"My lords," he said, "I have learned that in this case, which I did not know before, that there are treasons of two kinds — statute treasons, and treasons constructive and arbitrary. First, then, I shall, as I hope, clear myself of statute, and then shall come to constructive, treason."

Having, at great length, and with surprising acuteness and force, replied severally to the articles which charged him with treason against the statute, he proceeded:

"My lords, I have all along watched to see if I could find that poisoned arrow that should envenom

all the rest, — that deadly cup of wine, that should intoxicate a few alleged inconveniences and misdemeanours, to run them up to high treason. That those should be treason together that are not treason in any one part, and where one thing will not do it of itself, yet woven with others it shall do it, — I conceive, my lords, under favour, that neither statute law nor common law hath declared this. It is hard I should here be questioned for my life and honour upon a law that is not extant, that cannot be showed. My lords, where has this fire been lying all this while, so many hundred years together, that no smoke should appear till it burst out now, to consume me and my children? That a punishment should precede promulgation of a law; that I should be punished by a law subsequent to the fact, is extreme hard! What man can be safe, if this be admitted? It is hard in another respect, — that there should be no token set by which we should know this offence, no admonition given by which we should avoid it. Where is the mark, where is the token upon this crime, to discover it to be high treason? My lords, be pleased to have that regard to the peerage of England, as never to expose yourselves to such moot points, such constructive interpretations of law; if there must be a trial of wits, let the subject be of something else than the lives and honours of peers. It will be wisdom in your lordships, for yourselves, your posterity, and for the whole kingdom, to cast into the fire those bloody and mysterious volumes of constructive and arbitrary treason, as the Christians in the primitive time did their books of curious arts,

and betake yourselves to the plain letter of the statute, that tells you what is and what is not treason; and not to be ambitious to be more learned in those killing arts than our forefathers! It is now full two hundred and forty years since any man was touched for this alleged crime, to this height, before myself. Let us not awaken these sleeping lions to our destructions, by raking up a few dusty records that have lain by the wall so many ages, forgotten or neglected. May it please you, my lords, not to add this to my other misfortunes, that a precedent should be derived from me, so disadvantageous as this will be to the whole kingdom. Do not through me, wound the interest of the commonwealth: and howsoever those gentlemen say they speak for the commonwealth, yet, in this particular, I indeed speak for it, and shew the inconveniences and mischiefs that will fall upon it: for, as it is expressed in the statute of Henry the Fourth, 'no man will know what to do or say for fear of such penalties.' Do not, my lords, put such great difficulties upon ministers of state, that men of wisdom, of honour, and of fortune, may not with cheerfulness and safety be employed for the public: if you weigh and measure them by grains and scruples, the public affairs of the kingdom will lie waste; no man will meddle with them who hath any thing to lose.

"My lords, I have troubled you longer than I should have done, were it not for the interest of those dear pledges a saint in heaven hath left me." [At this word, we are told, he stopped a while, letting fall some tears to her memory; then he went on.] "What I

forfeit for myself is nothing; but that my indiscretion should extend to my posterity, wounds me to the very soul. You will pardon my infirmity, — something I would have added, but am not able; therefore let it pass. And now, my lords, for myself I have been, by the blessing of Almighty God, taught that 'the afflictions of this present life are not to be compared with the eternal weight of glory which shall be revealed hereafter.' And so, my lords, even so, with all tranquillity of mind, I submit myself freely to your judgment; and, whether (he concluded, looking upward,) that judgment be of life or death, TE DEUM LAUDAMUS: IN TE, DOMINE, CONFIDO!"

The effect of this noble and touching address upon the audience in general, may be understood from the following testimony, subjoined to the report of it, for which we are indebted to Whitelocke, the chairman of the committee of impeachment. "Certainly," writes that honest adversary of Strafford, "never any man acted such a part, on such a theatre, with more wisdom, constancy, and eloquence, with greater reason, judgment, and temper, and with a better grace in all his words and gestures, than this great and excellent person did; and he moved the hearts of all his auditors (some few excepted) to remorse and pity." Pym had prepared a reply, — in force of reasoning and condensed power of language, worthy of a juster cause; in sanguinary violence, far exceeding every thing hitherto drawn forth by this memorable trial. Among many sterling passages, it contains a description of law, equalled only by the famous one in

Hooker. "The law," says the Commons' orator, "is that which puts a difference betwixt good and evil, betwixt just and unjust. If you take away the law, all things will fall into a confusion; every man will become a law to himself, which, in the depraved condition of human nature, must needs produce many enormities. Lust will become a law, and envy will become a law, covetousness and ambition will become laws; and what dictates, what decisions such laws will produce, may easily be discerned in the late government of Ireland." These sentences were repeatedly quoted, or referred to, in the able proclamations and manifestoes, from the pen of Clarendon, put forth by the king at a subsequent period; when the same men who had once started so honourably, were recklessly hurrying forward over the prostrate ruins of the constitution. From statements so just and philosophic, Pym could pass, however, to the following tone of truculent aggravation: "The forfeitures inflicted for treason, by our law, are of life, honour, and estate, even all that can be forfeited; and this prisoner having committed so many treasons, although he should pay all these forfeitures, will be still a debtor to the commonwealth. Nothing can be more equal, than that he should perish by the justice of that law which he would have subverted. Neither will this be a new way of blood. There are marks enough to trace this law to the very original of this kingdom; and if it hath not been put in execution, as he allegeth, these two hundred and forty years, it was not for want of law, but that all that time hath not

bred a man bold enough to commit such crimes as these!"

At this point an incident occurred that shook the orator's firmness. During the delivery of this speech, the earl had frequently regarded his accuser with an earnest look. At length, just as the above words were uttered, their eyes met. What sudden feeling smote through the "firm nerves" of the pursuer, as he caught the steady gaze of his great quarry, once his admired associate, can only be conjectured. He loses, however, his self-possession, — falters, — stops; with trembling hands he seeks, among his papers, somewhat towards the next paragraph of premeditated invective. "They could not help him," writes an eye-witness; and, amidst the evident impatience of the hall, he huddles up the unheeded conclusion.

The law which exacted Strafford's blood was not yet in the statute-book. Persuasion had not reached the Lords. Now, therefore, the whole strength of the party was to be applied to force on the bill of attainder. Selden, the most learned and venerable of the advocates of freedom—Holborne, the least corruptible of the judges, argued against that sanguinary enactment. Digby, as long as he believed there was evidence against the earl of high treason, one of his severest accusers, became now his advocate; and protested vehemently against the shedding of his blood. But opposition served only to whet the eagerness of pursuit. The language of St. John was the raving of a fury. Strafford asked to be heard against the bill: he

was denied. On the 21st of April it was read a third time in the Commons; and the same afternoon Pym hurried up with it to the Peers, with a special demand for expedition!

Actuated more by motives of conscience and kingly honour than by personal attachment, Charles resolved, at all hazards, to save his unfortunate minister. He assured Strafford by letter, that, "upon the word of a king, he should not suffer, in life, honour, or fortune;" and what he said, he fully designed. But the king was in the power of the Commons. By his connivance, large offers were made to Balfour, the lieutenant of the Tower, to suffer the escape of his prisoner: the stern Scotchman remained true to the cause espoused by his nation, and revealed every thing. The troops were discontented at the preference given to the Scotch, in the article of pay; the king was privy to an intrigue, founded on this circumstance, the object of which was, to overawe the parliament by bringing the army into the neighbourhood of the metropolis: it was instantly betrayed to the popular leaders. Baffled in every more decided attempt to save his minister, Charles, in the extremity of his distress, took what proved to be a fatal step. He went down to parliament and addressed the houses, acknowledging that Strafford had been guilty of misdemeanours, and promising never again to employ him in his affairs; but added, that having been present and heard the whole of the evidence at the trial, he in his conscience acquitted him of high treason, and could not give his assent to the bill of attainder.

A more unfortunate course could not have been pursued. The Commons exclaimed loudly against this declaration, as an attempt upon their privileges. The next day being Sunday, the party—to use an expression of Queen Elizabeth's—"tuned the pulpits" of the Presbyterians to the cry of "Justice on the great delinquent;" and on the Monday armed multitudes, set on by the same instigation, placarded the names of fifty-nine members of the House of Commons who had voted with Lord Digby against the bill, and occupied the passages to the House of Lords; insulting the peers on account of their delay, with shouts of "Justice and execution! Justice and execution!" and openly, before the windows of Whitehall, demanding the blood of Strafford. By these means the judges were intimidated to deliver an opinion, that on certain of the charges the earl was guilty in law; and it is said that some of the bishops (the absence of Laud had been wisely provided for!), to whom the king appealed in his despair, advised him to yield, by means of a quibbling argument, grounded on the distinction between what he owed to his conscience, as a man, and what as a sovereign. Pym seized the moment to announce the discovery of the "army plot,"—the doors, as usual, when a great blow was to be struck being previously closed. Terrible things were added, of corresponding dangers from abroad. All day the house continued in debate, which at night issued in the famous "Protestation," imitated from the "Solemn League and Covenant" of Scotland. Following up the prodigious impulse given by these, and other

methods of excitement, the Commons then bring in a bill for securing the perpetuity of the parliament. It passes the Lords. Three days later, in a thin house, and by a small majority, the bill of attainder likewise passes. Together they are presented to the king, with pressing entreaties to his majesty to preserve the peace of the kingdom by an immediate assent. With a magnanimity worthy his character, Strafford himself implores his afflicted master to withdraw his pledge, and, by assenting to the bill, seal a "blessed agreement" between himself and his subjects. "Sir," he writes, "my consent shall more acquit you herein to God, than all the world can do besides: to a willing man there is no injury done."

In agony the king passed the interval which he had required to consider his final answer to the solicitations of the two houses; and at the close of it subscribed, with tears, a commission to the Earl of Arundel, and two other lords, to give the required assent, scarcely noticing in his distress that other no less fatal enactment. The next day, when Secretary Carlton announced the terrible decision, and explained its motives, to the earl, a moment's flush of that attachment to life, common alike to all, which religious trust, generous greatness of soul, or even the resolves of a strong intellect, can crush, but not extinguish, came over him. Some surprise appeared in his countenance; he inquired if it was so indeed; rose up from his chair; and, with uplifted hands, exclaimed, in the words of the Psalmist, "Put not your trust in princes nor in the sons of men!"

Laud, the associate of his greatness, and the companion of his fall, had some time previously become the earl's neighbour in the Tower. The steps by which he was transferred thither may be here briefly traced.

It is probable, that, at the time of the primate's impeachment, no intention existed to take away his life: it was thought sufficient to keep him from mischief, and let him find, it might be, a grave in prison. Before passing into the custody of Maxwell, he had permission to go over to Lambeth, and select some papers and books for his defence. He remained there till night, and attended prayers, for the last time, in his own chapel. When the hour arrived for his departure, he found hundreds of his poor neighbours waiting to receive his benediction, and praying for his safe return. Such particulars are worthy to be related, in the story of a man whom even they who admit his virtues scarcely believe to have been capable of inspiring attachment.

Towards the latter end of February, the archbishop was ordered to attend the House of Lords and hear the articles of impeachment read. Pym appeared at the bar in support of the accusation; but his speech on this occasion did not display those marks of a powerful intellect, engaged in its chosen vocation, which shone so brilliantly through his arguments against Strafford. Laud having now permission to speak, enlarged at some length upon the charge; which, he said, was great and heavy, and such, indeed, that he should regard himself as unworthy to live, if it could be made good. On the first of March he was committed to the

Tower; in his passage through the City, "baited" by the rabble with a degree of brutality which deeply shocked even his gaoler, Maxwell. No intercourse between the great and unfortunate friends was allowed; but Laud derived some consolation from the reports made to him by Balfour, of many expressions of reverence and affection towards himself which the earl had been heard to utter.

Strafford's days were now literally numbered. The royal assent to the bill of attainder was given on Monday; Wednesday was fixed for his execution; nor could the utmost endeavours of the afflicted king —negociation, entreaty, supplication,—to all of them he resorted,—procure so much as a short respite. The earl employed the interval in calmly settling his affairs. He wrote a petition to the House of Lords, entreating them, in terms perhaps too humble, to have compassion on his innocent children; addressed a letter to his wife, bidding her affectionately to support her courage, and accompanied it with an address of final advice and instruction to his eldest son, exquisite for its pathos, its wisdom, and deep religious tone. He had tender and tearful farewells for other friends beside; but the most solemn he reserved for Laud.

The day previous to his execution, Strafford sent for the lieutenant of the Tower, and requested to know if he might speak with the archbishop. Balfour replied, that such an indulgence was contrary to his peremptory orders. "Master lieutenant," said he, with melancholy playfulness, "you shall hear what passes

between us. It is not a time either for him to plot heresy or me to plot treason." The lieutenant suggested that he should petition the parliament. "No," rejoined the earl; "I have gotten my despatch from them, and will trouble them no more. I am now petitioning a higher court, where neither partiality can be expected, nor error feared." He then turned to the primate of Ireland (Usher), who had been permitted to attend him, and said, "My lord, I will tell you what I should have spoken to my lord's grace of Canterbury. You shall desire the archbishop to lend me his prayers to-night, and to give me his blessing when I go abroad to-morrow; and that he will be in his window, that by my last farewell I may give him thanks for this and all his former favours." Laud, on receiving this message, replied that he was bound, by every obligation of duty and affection, to comply with the request; but feared that his weakness and passion would not lend him eyes to behold the departure of his friend. The next morning, when Strafford was on his way to the scaffold, as he approached the apartment of the archbishop, he remarked to the lieutenant that he did not see him: "nevertheless," continued he, "give me leave I pray you, to do my last observance towards his chamber." An attendant, in the meantime, having apprised the archbishop of his approach, he staggered to the window. The earl perceiving him, exclaimed, bowing himself to the ground, "My lord, your prayers and your blessing!" The aged primate lifted up his hand, pronounced his benediction, and, overcome with

anguish, fell fainting to the earth. Strafford added these parting words—"Farewell, my lord; God protect your innocency!" and passed calmly onwards. At the gate of the Tower, the lieutenant wished him to enter a coach, lest the enraged populace should rush upon him to tear him in pieces. "No," said he, "Mr. Lieutenant; I dare look death in the face, and, I hope, the people too. Have you a care that I do not escape. 'Tis all one how I die; whether by the stroke of the executioner, or the madness and fury of the people, if that may content them." And, being freer than usual from bodily infirmities, he walked onward, going before the guards, with a serene yet somewhat elated countenance, like a general (as was observed) at the head of his troops. He was habited in black, with white gloves on his hands. A numerous crowd, consisting of not less than one hundred thousand persons, stretched in long perspective across Tower Hill; to whom he frequently took off his hat, and saluted them as he passed.

Having ascended the scaffold, followed by Sir George Wentworth, the primate Usher, and others of his friends, he knelt down, and, rising, examined the block. He then intimated his desire to speak to the people. "I am here," he said, "to pay my last debt to sin, which is death; and I solemnly declare, in the presence of Almighty God, in whose mercies I trust, that in all my service to his majesty, however it be my ill fortune to have my acts misconstrued, I had never any intention but to promote the joint prosperity of the king and his people. I wish this kingdom all

prosperity and happiness; I wished it living, I wish it dying. But let every one consider seriously, whether the beginning of the people's happiness should be written in letters of blood." After making protestation of his faith and devotion to the Church of England, and his cheerful forgiveness of his enemies, "One thing," he continued, "I desire to be heard in, and do hope that for Christian charity's sake I shall be believed. I was so far from being against parliaments, that I have always thought parliaments in England to be the happy constitution of the kingdom! and the best means under God to make the king and his people happy."

He then turned to take leave of his friends. To each he affectionately gave his hand. "Gentlemen," he said, "I would say my prayers; and I entreat you all to pray with me, and for me." Again standing up, he perceived his brother, Sir George Wentworth, weeping excessively. "Brother," said he to him, "what do you see in me to cause these tears? Does any indecent fear betray in me guilt, or my innocent boldness want of religion? Think that you are now accompanying me once more to my marriage-bed. That block must be my pillow, and here I must rest from all my labours. No thoughts of envy, no dreams of treason, no jealousies or cares for the king, the state, or myself, shall interrupt this easy sleep. Therefore, rather pity with me those who, without intending it, have made me happy. Brother, we must part. Remember me to my sister and to my wife; and carry my blessing to my eldest son, and charge him from me

to fear God, to continue an obedient son of the Church of England, and a faithful subject to the king, and that he bear no grudge or revenge towards any concerning me. Carry my blessing to Ann and Arabella (his daughters), not forgetting my little infant, that knows neither good nor evil, and cannot speak for itself, God speak for it, and bless it! I have now well-nigh done: one stroke will make my wife husbandless, my dear children fatherless, and my poor servants masterless, and separate me from my dear brother, and all my friends; but may God be to you and them all in all!"

He proceeded to undress himself, winding up his hair beneath a cap with his hands; and while thus employed, he said, "Never did I take off my clothes with greater cheerfulness and content, when I went to bed, than in this preparation for my grave." He inquired for the executioner. "Where," he said, "is the man that should do me this office? call him to me." The headsman approached, and asked his forgiveness. Strafford replied, that he forgave him and all the world.

The affecting narrative of this great man's departure from life thus closes.—"Kneeling down by the block, he went to prayer again by himself, the primate of Ireland kneeling on the one side, and the minister on the other; to the which minister after prayer he turned himself, and spoke some few words softly; having his hands lifted up, the minister closed his hands with his. Then bowing himself to the earth to lay down his head on the block, he told the executioner

that he would first lay down his head to try the fitness of the block, and take it up again, before he laid it down for good and all; and so he did: and before he laid it down again, he told the executioner that he would give him warning when to strike, by stretching forth both his hands; and then, having laid down his neck on the block, stretching out his hands, the executioner struck off his head at one blow, then took up the head in his hand, and shewed it to all the people, and said, 'God save the king!'"

"Thus," wrote Laud, on recovering his usual serenity, after that overwhelming farewell, sufficiently to proceed with the task which solaced his imprisonment until his own turn came, — "thus ended the wisest, the stoutest, and every way the ablest subject that this nation had bred these many years." The excellent Evelyn also says, under date of that sanguinary 12th of May, 1641, "I beheld on Tower Hill the fatal stroke which severed the wisest head in England from the shoulders of the Earl of Strafford; whose crime coming under the cognisance of no human law, a new one was made, not to be a precedent, but his destruction: to such exorbitancy were things arrived." These were the sentiments of persons of humanity and reflection. But the populace, though awed into decency at the scaffold, celebrated their triumph — for such they were taught to esteem it—with shouts of exultation as they returned through the City.

CHAPTER IV.

THE PARLIAMENTARY CRISIS.

The rapidity with which the great movement advanced, after Strafford's fall, was in proportion to the magnitude of the impediment removed. It was now easy for the triumphant party to sweep away all real abuses. As long as their measures spared the episcopal order, they were submissively adopted by the Lords, and assented to by the king without much hesitation. This, however, was the very point toward which the main force of the onset was directed.

Of the leaders, indeed, in both houses, several, who adopted the language of religion from policy, or the fashion of the time, would have been content to press no farther upon the power of the hierarchy, than they might have done with the concurrence of some among the bench of bishops themselves. Williams had consented to preside in the committee of religion; a scheme of "moderate episcopacy," designed to assimilate the episcopalian and presbyterian systems on a footing of mutual compromise, was sanctioned by Usher.

But moderation was no longer in their choice. The Church's overthrow was the condition of that

support, in which lay their chief strength: the patriots, therefore, dared neglect no step tending to this object. "Delinquent" clergymen were daily deprived. A vote passed the Commons, that bishops should no longer sit in parliament: it was presently followed by a bill to deprive the whole body of the clergy of all temporal functions; and this again, by the well-known presentation of a bill for abolition of episcopacy, root and branch, brought in by the unhappy Sir Edward Dering. And though the peers withheld their concurrence, and had the courage to defend the ecclesiastical constitution a few months longer, yet it was evident they were gradually yielding to the pressure. On minor points they at once gave way; and already the personal treatment of the lords spiritual, in their own house of parliament, was disrespectful, if not contemptuous.

The king had engaged to be present in Scotland at the approaching session of the parliament of that kingdom. The fulfilment of this pledge was looked forward to by the patriots with alarm. Pleading the unsettled state of the public affairs, they requested a regent to be named during his majesty's absence: he consented only to appoint, for that period, the Earl of Essex to be commander-in-chief south of the Trent. On various pretexts, alleged by the houses, he from time to time delayed his journey; but at length set out from London, in the beginning of August. The parliament, not unreasonably suspicious of his purposes, despatched after him a committee, with Hampden at their head, to watch his steps and thwart his negoti-

ations. A fortnight later, the two houses, having each appointed a committee, empowered for all exigencies during the recess, voted an adjournment from September 9th to October 20th. Pym, whose influence and popularity were at this time unbounded, was named chairman of the Commons' committee; and had, in fact, management of both.

The king's determination to conciliate Scotland, at all hazards, was early displayed. In passing through the head-quarters of the armies, at that time in the act of disbanding, he made no stay at York, but accepted an entertainment at Newcastle from Lesley, whom he created Earl of Leven. To the covenanters he made ruinous concessions, humouring them at the same time in matters the least palatable to his tastes: he stripped the crown of its most valuable prerogatives; gave up episcopacy to destruction; nominated the leading ministers of the Kirk to be his chaplains, and regularly attended the presbyterian service. But all his concessions were now regarded by that rapacious race as the plunder of the vanquished; while in England both his attempts to win the Scots, and his efforts to search out the treasonable intrigues of the preceding year (which was quickly discovered to be a second, but scarcely less anxious object), served alike to exasperate the existing jealousy.

Before Charles's return, intelligence came from Ireland of the frightful rebellion in that country. Transferred from the able government of Strafford to feebler hands but harsher treatment; encouraged by

the successful issue of the Scotch insurrection, and still more by those domestic feuds which occupied their masters; the native Irish conspired to throw off the yoke, and to massacre all the English and Protestants in the island. Unfortunately facilities were afforded for the execution of this dreadful project by the parliament's refusal, contrary to the king's desire, to allow the disbanded Irish soldiers to enter into foreign service. The plan of the insurrection had been in agitation as early as the month of March, and, by degrees, the whole Roman Catholic population were drawn into it; but so well had the terrible secret been kept, that it was not till the night previous to the day fixed for its execution that the government received the least intimation of the impending blow. Intelligence of it reached the lords justices, Borlase and Parsons, scarcely in time to secure the Castle of Dublin; in most other places the design was carried into effect, amid scenes of cruelty and bloodshed almost too horrible for belief. The rebels had the audacity to assert that they had risen in defence of the royal cause: they even exhibited a forged commission from the king. That Charles connived at, if he did not instigate, this work of blood, though now — not, indeed, without manifest reluctance — given up, even by those who are most hostile to his fame, was too convenient, and, at the time, too plausible a falsehood, not to meet with countenance from the parliament.

A common danger should have reconciled the contending parties. But to the patriots all dangers

appeared trivial, in comparison with the returning tide of the nation's loyalty, with which they were now seriously threatened. Fresh appeals were, therefore, to be made to the fears and credulity of the populace. Hence plots thickened, of which some were brought to light; others, more numerous and terrible, were suspended in darkness. Mysterious hints of the dangerous tendency of the court intrigues in Scotland were sent up by the vigilant northern committee: the swords of disbanded officers, who lurked in the purlieus of Covent Garden and Whitehall, were said to be thirsting for the blood of their brethren at Westminster: Pym's life had actually been attempted, by means of a plague-paster, conveyed to him, at the House of Commons, in a letter:—for all these reasons, the members of parliament, on re-assembling at the appointed day, found the trained bands under arms in the Palace-yard, watching night and day for the safety of that indefatigable band of patriots.

The time had now arrived for the adoption of an expedient, of which some rumours had already been heard: this was the famous Remonstrance. According to its original plan, the Remonstrance was designed to display the actual evils under which the country laboured: one by one, however, those evils had vanished —it was for this very reason that the Remonstrance was now revived, though in a different shape. It contained, in strong but popular language, a sombre view of the king's reign, from his accession to the hour of its presentation; representing the miserable

writhings of the people under the rod of despotism, set off by a highly coloured picture of the parliament's labours for their relief, through difficulties seemingly insurmountable, followed by alarming announcements of worse calamities to be dreaded from the machinations of some unnamed but terrible "malignant parties." To this statement, the form of a petition was not given; but it was accompanied by a request, that the bishops might be deprived of their votes in parliament; that his majesty would be pleased to remove all objectionable persons from his counsels; and that in future he would employ such individuals only, in public affairs and places of trust, "as," in the words of the Remonstrance, introducing a phrase frequently employed from that time by its authors, — "as the parliament may have cause to confide in."

The production of this paper in the House of Commons was the critical and decisive point in the history of the Long Parliament. Its contrivers intended by it to ascertain, and fix, their strength. It was, and was designed to be, a severe touchstone of each man's actual principles and views; and, at the same time, a barrier against their future abandonment. Doubt and suspicion immediately pervaded the minds of the moderate and undecided. Why recall the bitterness of grievances that had ceased to exist? Why this studied harshness of speech? What was the destination of this fierce manifesto? Silence and mystery were, for a time, the only answers.

It was the 21st of November. The house had been occupied with other subjects of discussion till

the hour of twelve—a late hour of the day, in those times, to bring on new and important matter. Would there be a debate?—"A trifling one," replied the ambiguous member for Cambridge, Cromwell, to whom the question was addressed. Those who were best acquainted with the relative state of parties in the house foresaw at least a part of the result: the debate was deferred to the following morning.

At nine o'clock on the 22nd it was opened, and continued through the day with unwonted violence. Many members—those especially whose indisposition, from age or infirmity, to sit out so protracted a discussion was not overcome by the interested zeal of party,—dropped out one by one. "This," cried Rudyard, observing Secretary Nicholas take his departure, "will be the verdict of a starved jury." Midnight came:—the Remonstrance was put to the vote, and carried by a majority of nine. And now appeared the real object of the Remonstrants; for thereupon rose Hampden, and moved that it should be printed. A debate, fiercer than the last, ensued. It appearing that no intention existed to bring the question before the Peers for their concurrence, Hyde warmly asserted that the house was incompetent to proceed alone in such a measure. "Should, however," he said, "this dangerous proposal be adopted, I for one must be allowed to protest against it." On this, Palmer, one of the moderate men, stood up, crying out, "I, too, protest!" Other members did the same. Pym now reminded the house that the privilege, allowed to a minority, of protesting, was unknown to the

Commons, and directed the displeasure of the house against the attempted innovation. Instantly the whole assembly rose in a tumult. The scene which ensued is set before us by the lively pen of a member present. "At three o'clock in the morning," writes Sir Philip Warwick, "when they voted it [the resolution to print], I thought we all, like Joab's and Abner's young men, had catched at each other's locks, and sheathed our swords in each other's bowels, had not the sagacity and great calmness of Mr. Hampden, by a short speech prevented it, and led us to defer our angry debate." An effectual separation was now made between the moderate and the "root and branch" men; but only to prove the comparative weakness of the former. From this period, the Parliament constituted the Government; the Commons, the Parliament; the Country, or patriotic party, the Commons — the last being themselves but the agents of the Presbyterian and Puritan sections of the people.

The king's return took place two days afterwards, amidst a burst of returning loyalty, bright, brief, and delusive. On the way, he was received — at York, in particular — with the warmest testimonies of dutiful affection. The loyalists had succeeded in placing in the civic chair of London Sir Richard Gurney, a man of character and courage. Under his auspices, the king and queen, with the whole court, were magnificently feasted in Guildhall; and, while the conduits in Cheapside and Cornhill ran with wine, the whole city accompanied the royal party back to

Whitehall, surrounded with the blaze of innumerable torches, and attended by the prayers and acclamations of the fickle multitude.

The next day Charles received back Essex's commission; dismissed the guard from about the parliament houses; published a proclamation commanding obedience to the laws for the defence of religion; and proceeded to attach to his person the more distinguished of the seceders, by creating Falkland secretary of state, and Colepepper chancellor of the exchequer; while in Hyde, afterwards Earl of Clarendon, though that statesman declined a specific office, he secured a firm friend and an invaluable servant.

On the first of December a committee attended the king at Hampton Court, to present the Remonstrance. Charles received them graciously. "Does the house purpose to publish this declaration?" he inquired. "We are not authorised to answer your majesty's questions," was the reply. "Well," rejoined the king, "I suppose you do not expect an instant answer to so long a document? You shall have one with as much speed as the weightiness of the business will permit." He made it his request to the house, that the Remonstrance might not be allowed to appear till his answer was ready: — it was forthwith printed, without any notice in the house of this request.

This paper was an appeal, not to the king, but to the people; and it did its expected work. Innumerable pamphlets, in the same strain, "pursued the triumph." Tumultuous demonstrations of popular

strength, on pretence of meeting to petition, daily followed. Then came the outrages at Westminster. The City of London was at that time the residence of the greater part of the nobility and foreign ambassadors; and, besides the retainers of the great, swarmed with a bold, reckless, and dissatisfied population. Every man had arms, and had learned to use them. Crowds of these citizens, under the general name of "apprentices," mixed with the yet meaner rabble of the suburbs, flocked to Westminster, shouting "No bishops! no bishops!" The Commons (for the Lords refused to join with them) petitioned the king, at this moment, "in regard of the fears they had of some design from the papists, that they might continue such a guard about them as they thought fit." He ordered the trained bands of Westminster and Middlesex on this duty. So little satisfaction, however, did the order give, that when the Earl of Dorset, lord-lieutenant of Middlesex, directed them to remove the rioters from about the doors of the house of Peers, against whom their violence was chiefly directed, "the Commons," says Clarendon, "inveighed against the earl, and talked of accusing him of high treason." The tumults hourly increasing, and many members of the Lords complaining, in their places, of the insults they met with, that house sought a conference with the other to consider the proper remedy. The request was evaded:—they must not discourage their friends; and Pym exclaimed, in the presence of both houses, "God forbid, the House of Commons should

proceed in any way to dishearten the people to obtain their just desires!"

With how much promptitude and decision any indiscreet step which the parties assailed might, in this miserable state of things, be induced to take, was turned to account by the watchful energy of the House of Commons, is seen in the memorable incident of the bishops' petition. Those reverend persons having been several days forcibly excluded from the House of Peers by the mob, Williams, archbishop of York, an able man, but whose restless temper did little service to the church, prevailed with eleven of his brethren to join him in subscribing a protest against the validity of every act of the house during their absence. It was addressed to the king, and by him forwarded to the Lords, who heard it with surprise and resentment, and immediately communicated it to the other house. No occurrence could have fallen out more favourably for the enemies of the church, than this weak attempt. It was instantly debated in the Commons, with the usual signs of secrecy and importance; and a resolution passed to impeach the twelve prelates of high treason. The result was, that they appeared, on their knees, as culprits at the bar of the House of Lords; and that ten of these venerable and learned fathers were instantly despatched by water to the Tower, through the inclement air of a winter's evening; the remaining two, in tenderness to their great age and infirmities, being committed to the

care of Maxwell. Nor were some of those schemes by which the king himself attempted to counterwork the assaults now openly made on his authority, either more prudently contrived, or happier in their consequences.

On the breaking out of the Irish rebellion, his majesty, as the likeliest means of silencing the calumny that he had himself given countenance to that atrocious plot, remitted to the parliament the measures for its suppression. The power thus rashly conceded was eagerly grasped; but the purposes of its transfer were but tardily and sparingly fulfilled. Repeatedly urged by the king to provide money and troops for suppressing the rebellion, and for the defence of his loyal subjects, they answered by passing a resolution never to consent to the toleration of popery in Ireland, or any other part of the king's dominions. A bill, however, was introduced, for the impressment of soldiers. In the preamble it was declared that the king had no right, in any case, except a foreign invasion, to order an impressment of his subjects. Charles required that the bill should not be incumbered with any question respecting the abstract rights of sovereign or subject. This unconstitutional interference with a parliamentary measure, not yet regularly brought before him, gave high offence to the Commons, was voted a breach of privilege, and drew forth a fresh "petition and remonstrance," in which they required the king to name the persons by whose evil counsel he had been led into that error. Charles replied soothingly; but referred, with some

not unkingly marks of scorn, to this insulting demand.

The audacity of the populace, encouraged by the connivance of their friends in parliament, rose at length to an intolerable pitch. They no longer respected the person of the king: Whitehall resounded with cries of "No bishops! no papist lords!" "We will have," they exclaimed, "no porter's lodge here; but will come and speak to the king, without obstruction, when we please!" At length, the indignation of some loyal gentlemen, officers of the army and students from the inns of court, was so much roused, that they came and voluntarily offered themselves to protect his majesty from these insufferable insults. Some personal conflicts ensued between the parties. On one of these occasions, an officer, from contempt for the rabble, whose close-cropped hair made them appear ridiculously unfashionable to the higher classes of the time, threatened them by the name of "Roundheads." The term instantly obtained vogue; and with its antithesis, "Cavaliers," which came into fashion shortly afterwards, has brought down to our own age, in picturesque contrast, the ideas of the two great rival parties, who, in so many subsequent encounters, shed each other's blood for loyalty and for freedom.

Among the most zealous of those royalists who joined to check the fury of the rabble, was Colonel Lunsford; a gentleman regarded rather for courage than discretion or gravity. Into the hands of this wild soldier, after procuring the resignation of Balfour, at the cost of three thousand pounds, the king was per-

suaded to put the office of lieutenant of the Tower. Parliament remonstrated against this appointment, and Charles transferred it to Sir John Byron. The Commons had repeatedly applied for a guard, to be under the command of the Earl of Essex, or some other officer c hosen by themselves. They now renewed the application with greater urgency; but before the king's answer could be reported, as if to provide against some imminent personal danger, arms were introduced into the house itself, and, at the same time, an order was sent to the sheriffs of London and Middlesex to station the trained bands round the houses, under the command of Skippon, an illiterate but honest soldier, captain of the Artillery Company, whom they commissioned for that purpose, with the new title of Major-General of the Militia of London.

It was while engaged in debating the question of the guard, that the House of Commons was startled with information of the king's celebrated attempt against the five members. Who, in this most unhappy instance, were his advisers, has not been satisfactorily determined. But sufficient motives to almost any expedient, short of an act of madness (and the boldest expedient might, not absurdly, seem to him the most promising), were supplied in the oppressive and insulting measures of his adversaries. An order stood on the order-book of the House of Commons for a committee on that day, "to take into consideration the militia of the kingdom;" in other words, to proceed to secure the power of the sword; and as the extreme of all subjects of irritation, hints had reached

the king, that during his absence in Scotland a design had been actually on foot to impeach his royal consort. A message from the Lords acquainted them that Herbert, the attorney-general, had appeared at the bar of that house, and accused of high treason the Lord Kimbolton, and five members of the House of Commons—Hollis, Halerigg, Pym, Hampden, and Strode. A serjeant-at-arms now presenting himself demanded, in the name of the king, to have the five members given up to his custody: at the same instant, the house learned that officers were engaged in sealing up the studies and trunks of the accused. It was a moment for the display of that decision, in the exercise of which the great leaders of the Commons delighted. They instantly sent the Speaker's warrant, to break the seals, and apprehend the persons by whom they were affixed; ordered, at the same time, that any members upon whom similar seizures were attempted, should stand upon their defence; despatched a deputation to the king with the reply, that their answer to a charge so serious required grave consideration; and, desiring the accused members to attend in their places the next morning, adjourned the house.

In that strangely varied sphere, the court of the most moral of princes, the fairest star was the beautiful Dowager-Countess of Carlisle. To this lady's smiles, brilliant talents and a great part in the drama of life were indispensable, but effectual, passports. What wonder if her favour dwelt, for a season, on Strafford? But Strafford perished: and it is hard

to say, whether disgust points rather to the patriot or the courtesan, whether delicacy or moral principle suffer the more grievous wound, when we learn that, immediately afterwards, the contrasted person, but hardly less intellectual brow of his remorseless prosecutor, stained as it was with the reeking blood of the great minister, possessed charms for the Countess of Carlisle.

No marvel, if so many of Charles's schemes proved abortive, when the most important of his affairs were in the power of such a woman! The afternoon of the following day had arrived, and each of the five accused members had spoken in his place against the accusation, when Pym received a private intimation from the countess that his majesty in person was coming to the house to apprehend him. A gentleman who had hastened from Whitehall entering, and confirming this intelligence, with the addition that he had actually beheld his majesty on the way, Pym and his friends withdrew; the house, meantime, waiting the result in silence.

All that followed is well known:—the king's entrance with his nephew, the prince palatine; the stillness which prevailed; his majesty's looking around for Pym and his friends; his seating himself in the Speaker's chair; his speech to the house, in which he assured them that no king of England had ever held their privileges in greater respect than himself, but that he was advised treason had no privilege; his confirming all that he had recently done for the advantage of his subjects; finally, his retiring, un-

covered, as he had entered, with an air of courteous deference, but followed by those prolonged and ominous murmurs of "Privilege! privilege!" by which alone the members broke, at length, the profound silence they had hitherto observed.

The next day the house passed some resolutions, denouncing, in haughty terms, this "high breach of the rights and privileges of parliament," and immediately adjourned for a week; but resolved to sit in the meantime, as a committee of the house, at Guildhall.

A proclamation was issued commanding the ports to be shut, and forbidding any person to harbour the accused members; yet the very house in which they were living—they can scarcely be said to have been concealed—was well known. Lord Digby, the author, it was asserted, of all this mischief, Lunsford, and some other Cavaliers, offered to go and secure them by force. To this proposal the king had the firmness to refuse his consent, but the day following proceeded himself to the City. Arrived at the Tower, he sent to the lord-mayor, to meet him at Guildhall, with the aldermen and common council. "Gentlemen," he said, when they were assembled, "I am come to demand such prisoners as I have already attainted of high treason; and believe they are shrouded in the City. I hope no good man will keep them from me. Their offences are treason and misdemeanours of a high nature. I desire your loving assistance herein, that they may be brought to a legal trial." The attempt had no other result but to exasperate farther "the madness of the

people," and to expose Charles's powerless condition to contempt.

Six days passed; days of intoxicating excitement without, of painful regret for this futile demonstration within, the palace at Whitehall. On the 11th, Hampden, Pym, Hollis, Haslerigg, Strode, (now too much the idols of the people, as well as the objects of the king's enmity, to preserve that manly moderation, without which, though they might win many victories, they could hardly achieve enduring success,) returned in triumph, escorted by the sheriffs and by vast crowds of shouting people, to the house of Commons, where congratulations, thanks, and plaudits, resounded on all sides. Their clamorous rejoicings reached not the king; he had retired, the previous evening, with his queen, their children and attendants, and "some thirty or forty" of the cavaliers, to his house at Hampton Court.

CHAPTER V.

THE RAISING OF THE STANDARD.

THE Commons strengthened their hands, once more, for the great work before them, by encouraging petitions expressive of confidence in the wisdom and firmness of parliament, aud praying for the removal of papists, prelatists, and other malignant advisers of the king.

Hampden's county, Bucks, led the way; four thousand freeholders of that county, each wearing a copy of the recent protestation of the Commons against the breach of their privileges, brought up three several petitions to the Commons, the Lords, and the Sovereign. Middlesex, Essex, Surrey, Hertford, followed. Petitions came in from separate classes of citizens; the porters of London, the "many thousands of poor people in London," separately petitioned. At length, "the gentlewomen and tradesmen's wives" delivered their petition; a document couched in language of such fulsome extravagance, as must have sorely tried the risible faculties of "the noble worthies now sitting in parliament." It was gravely heard, however, and "the honourable assembly sent them an answer by

Mr. Pym, which was performed in this manner: — "Mr. Pym came to the Commons' door, called for the women, and spoke to them in these words: 'Good women, your petition, and the reasons, have been read in the house, and are thankfully accepted of, and are come in a seasonable time. You shall (God willing) receive from us all the satisfaction which we can possibly give to your reasonable desires.'" All these petitions were printed and circulated, with innumerable other papers, appealing to the terrors and enthusiasm of the people. The effect of all this agitation was prodigious. New plots succeeded. Rumours of a design to surprise the City, by land and water, were brought to the houses; on which Major-General Skippon received orders to send out horsemen as scouts, in all directions, for intelligence, and to provide boats or like vessels for the like service upon the river. Orders were likewise issued to search the houses of suspected persons for arms, in almost every part of England; but the services of any who would voluntarily undertake these lawless invasions of their neighbours' dwellings were thankfully accepted: nor, as may be readily supposed, were arms, in every instance, the only kind of property seized.

Of all those dangerous and treasonable designs, none were ever traced to any ascertainable origin, unless we except that attributed to Lord Digby, too often, indeed the "wild and whirling" adviser of the king. Digby's own account of the affair bears the stamp of truth. "When," he wrote from abroad, "the rudeness and violence of that rabble drove both their ma-

jesties, for the safety of themselves and their children, to Hampton Court, thither by command I attended them. In this short journey many soldiers and commanders (who had come to solicit the payment of their arrears, for the late northern expedition, from the two houses of parliament) waited on their majesties; and, leaving them at Hampton Court, provided their own accommodations at Kingston, the nearest place capable of receiving them, and constantly so used for the overflow of company, which the court itself could not accommodate. To these gentlemen, of whom few or none were of my acquaintance, was I sent by his majesty, with some expressions of his good acceptance of their service; and returning the same night to Hampton Court, continued my attendance to Windsor, whither their majesties then repaired. I had not been there one day, when I heard that both houses of parliament were informed that I, and Colonel Lunsford, a person with whom I never exchanged twenty words in my life, had appeared in a warlike manner at Kingston, to the terror of the king's liege people; and thereupon had ordered that the Sheriff of Surrey, and, as I conceive, that all other sheriffs throughout England, should raise the power of their several counties to suppress the forces that he and I had levied."

On such grounds did the watchful or inventive wisdom of Pym and his fellow-patriots found those energetic measures which signalised the reassembling of parliament. They impeached Digby of high treason, and committed Lunsford to the Tower; they placed Skippon with a sufficient guard about that for-

tress; and sent Goring down to his government at Portsmouth, with orders that no forces should pass out or in, but with the king's authority signified by both houses of parliament. The Earl of Newcastle, whom the king had privately directed to take the government of Hull, was recalled by the House of Peers to his place in parliament: and Sir John Hotham, with orders similar to Goring's, was commissioned to supersede him. Sir John Byron being found unmanageable, he was brought upon his knees as a delinquent, at the bar; his dismissal extorted from the king; and Conyers, "a man in whom they could confide," made lieutenant of the Tower.

Finding himself too little removed at Hampton Court from the vexations which had pursued him at Whitehall, Charles, as has been intimated, removed to Windsor. Both parties now found leisure to contemplate the probable consequences of their mutual hostility, and both were preparing, covertly and in silence, for an appeal to force. Meantime secret stratagems were, on neither side, omitted. Every movement of the parliamentary leaders were reported to the king; on the other hand, every project of Charles became instantly known at Westminster. The court resolved that the queen should go over into Holland, under the pretence of conducting the Princess Henrietta Maria to her husband the Prince of Orange: the parliament was not deceived respecting the real object of this journey; which was, to solicit aid from foreign powers, and to purchase arms and ammunition, with money to be

raised on the valuable jewels she took out, should war become inevitable. Messages and answers, remonstrances and replies, were continually interchanged. But the whole interest of the dispute quickly became absorbed in the great question which regarded the command of the military forces of the empire. The Commons required, as a "ground of confidence" for a mutual accommodation, that the government of the forts, and the command of the army and navy, should be intrusted to officers nominated by the two houses of parliament. Amid the noise and heat of these discussions, the bill for taking away the bishops' votes, which had been long depending in the house of Lords, passed that assembly, and ultimately received the assent of the sovereign, extorted, it is said, by the passionate fears of his queen. The Commons' demand to have the power of the militia, in effect involved the whole question in dispute. Their pertinacity on this point was proportioned to its importance — its monstrous illegality appeared to them no impediment. "The notion," observes Mr. Hallam, "that either or both houses of parliament, who possess no portion of executive authority, could take on themselves one of its most peculiar and important functions, was so preposterous, that we can scarcely give credit to the sincerity of any reasonable person who advanced it." Nevertheless, this right was assumed in the famous Ordinance, which now passed both houses, and was presented to the king for his sanction. Again and again, it was pressed upon him. He refused; but promised

to accept it, with certain modifications, providing against the permanent abandonment of his constitutional right.

Having seen his consort embark at Dover, and provided for the safety of the Prince, by placing him under the care of the Marquess of Hertford, Charles by degrees withdrew himself northward. At Theobald's, a message overtook him with a vote of the houses upon his proposal of a modification, declaring it a positive denial, and threatening that, unless he speedily gave his unqualified consent, they would proceed without it to dispose of the militia by the authority of the houses. He repeated his former answer, adding that he relied upon the goodness and providence of God for the preservation of himself and his just rights. At Newmarket, a committee, once more deputed by the parliament, attended him. They were bearers of a "declaration," containing a fresh statement of their sufferings and fears, justifying all their proceedings, and urging reasons for his return to his parliament. It was a kind of supplement to the famous "Remonstrance," drawn up with great ability, and expressed in strong and insulting terms. "What would you have?" said the king. "Have I violated your laws? Have I refused to pass any one bill for the relief of my subjects? I do not ask you what you have done for me. Are my people transported with fears and apprehensions? I have offered as free and general a pardon as yourselves can devise. There is a judgment from heaven upon this nation, if these

distractions continue. God so deal with me and mine, as all my thoughts and intentions are upright, for the maintenance of true protestant profession, and for the observation and preservation of the laws of the land; and I hope God will bless and support those laws for my preservation." Lord Holland, a member of the committee, entreated him to continue to reside near his parliament. "I would," replied the king, "you had given me cause; but I am sure this declaration is not the way to it." Being then asked by the Earl of Pembroke whether the militia might not be granted in the manner desired by the parliament, at least for a time, "No," he answered with vehemence, "by G—— not for an hour! You have asked that of me, in this, was never asked of any king, and with which I will not trust my wife and children."

All prospect of reconciliation was now closed. The parliament passed the ordinance for the militia, commanding it to be obeyed as the fundamental laws of the kingdom; and pronouncing the king's appointments of lieutenants over the respective counties to be illegal and void. This momentous vote completed the separation of the royalist and parliamentarian parties, in the legislature. Hyde, Palmer, Bridgman, and other eminent persons, having spoken against the ordinance, refused to sit any longer, and withdrew to the king. Many retired to their country-seats; but the strength lost in numbers was supplied by unanimity, and by that stern resolvedness, which the glorious prize in view, and the belief of most minds,

that the die was already irrevocably cast, were calculated to produce. The king, meantime, arrived at York.

No one, be his political views what they may, who has considered the occurrences of the last few months, can fail, if he has the true English desire to see "fair play" between contending parties, to feel some satisfaction on finding the king fix his residence in the north. In London, and its vicinity, where his adversaries had exclusive command of parliament, pulpit, and press,—where their trained rabble besieged his doors, and where spies in their pay waited in his bed-chamber, freedom to stand upon his defence was denied him; and he was daily driven to perform the disingenuous part of submitting to concessions, which they who violently extorted them knew he would regard as void should prosperous times return, and made that conviction the excuse for fresh and still more formidable exactions. At York he breathed a freer air, and was able to resume a more kingly, and therefore a more ingenuous tone. His court, in the deanery, was attended by nearly all the distinguished families of the northern counties, and was daily augmented by fresh arrivals from London of royalists who had not the hardihood to appear such at Whitehall or Windsor. Within two months of his arrival, out of seventy-four members, of whom the house consisted, thirty had joined him, and were shortly afterwards followed by ten others. Of the Commons, it was ascertained about the same time, that sixty-five had withdrawn from the house. An object of some importance was

gained, when Hyde, on the eve of his own departure for York, persuaded Lord-keeper Littleton to forward the great seal to his master, himself immediately following. The retinue of a court, and the defence requisite for its security, in the dangerous times now commencing, were, in the same manner, completed by embodying, from among the neighbouring gentry, a personal guard for the king.

While the thoughts of both parties were evidently pointing to war, an incessant correspondence was nevertheless kept up between them, under the mask of peaceful intentions. A double motive operated, on either side, throughout this protracted paper combat: first, to gain time to prepare for physical encounter; secondly, to justify the respective proceedings of the combatants to the people. On neither side did the authors of those declarations and replies, votes and protestations, remonstrances and replications, which continued in rapid interchange between York and London, so much address themselves to each other, as to a great, earnest, and intelligent nation, listening alternately with growing enthusiasm and expanding nerve to their mutual appeals to history, to law, to the indefeasible rights of sovereign and subject. Hence, the stirring interest with which we still peruse this collection, and this alone, of the dullest of all the productions of able pens—state manifestoes. On the parliament's side, those great documents were—could they be otherwise?—uniformly bold, haughty, full of purpose and of passion: those on the king's side are described, by a modern historian of liberal principles, to be "temperate

and constitutional, and as superior to those on the opposite side in argument as they were in eloquence." Something not unlike the same conviction in the minds of the parliamentary leaders was surely indicated by the fact, that while the king invariably accompanied his publications by the correlative statements of the two houses, they, on the contrary, did all in their power to suppress the king's. The most remarkable of all the series is the famous "nineteen propositions," presented to Charles, June 2nd. When we are told, by the same learned writer, respecting this final demand, that "it went to abrogate the whole existing constitution, and was in truth so far beyond what the king could be expected to grant, that terms more intolerable were scarcely proposed to him in his greatest subsequent difficulties," we cannot be surprised at the result. In truth, who can doubt, that, unfortunately for the interests of freedom, the parliament had now placed themselves in a false position; had given just cause for the indignation with which the king rejected this proposal to be "allowed to wear a crown and carry a sceptre, to have his hand still kissed and be addressed with the style of majesty; but at the same time to be without real power, the slave of a party, the phantom of a sovereign?" Pity! that Charles Stuart should ever have been placed in a position which enabled him to awaken a generous echo in thousands of bosoms panting to be free, by quoting, on this occasion, that manly sentiment of the barons of Runnymede—not designed for the mouth of kings—"Nolumus leges Angliæ mutari!"

Less fortunate was the king, in points more essential than evidence of right, to immediate success.

The parliament had obtained absolute possession of the fleet, by boldly appointing to the command of it, without the king's consent, the Earl of Warwick, one of their partisans. Respecting Charles's attempt to dispossess them of one of his fortresses, it will be necessary to give some account; that event being commonly regarded as, more than any other occurrence, decisive of the war. Hull had, in consequence of the recent disbanding of the army near its gates, become the richest magazine of military stores in England. Its possession was therefore eagerly contested. Regarding with suspicion the king's choice of York for his residence, the parliament had passed an order for the removal of the arms and ammunition from that fortress to the Tower of London. They had little confidence in Sir John Hotham, the governor, who was a man of no great courage or ability, and, in fact, at heart a royalist. The town itself also was friendly to Charles: in fact, he believed that nothing more than his presence was needed to obtain its instant surrender. Accordingly, early on the 23d of April, his majesty, accompanied by two or three hundred gentlemen, rode over from York; and when within a mile of the walls, sent to acquaint Hotham that he intended that day to dine with him. Hotham, in great confusion and uncertainty at this intimation, called a council of his officers, who advised him to refuse admittance to the king. Charles, arriving at the gates an hour after his messenger, found them closed, the

drawbridge raised, the walls manned. The governor now making his appearance on the ramparts, he commanded him to open the gates. Hotham fell on his knees, and answered that, holding his trust on oath from the parliament he dared not. "Let me see your order to keep me out," replied the king. "Were your majesty admitted with such a train," continued Hotham, "I could not answer for the safety of the town." "I will enter, then," said the king, "with only twenty horse, while the rest stay here without." The governor refused. "Come out to me, then," demanded Charles, "that we may have conference together: I pledge my royal word for your safety and free return." He still refused, protesting, at the same time, his loyalty. The enraged cavaliers attending on the king now cried out to the officers of the garrison, who thronged the wall, to throw him down: they addressed those by whose resolves the poor man's own inclination was overborne. "This," added the king, "is an unparalleled act, and cannot but produce notable effects: had you, Hotham, performed a subject's duty, the miseries and bloodshed that may fall upon this kingdom might yet have been averted." Charles had, the previous day, sent the Duke of York and his nephew, the Prince Elector, on a visit of pleasure to the town. He withdrew till joined by them without; and then, once more advancing to the ramparts, proclaimed Hotham a traitor by sound of trumpet. That night the king slept at the neighbouring town of Beverley: from whence he instantly despatched a message to the parliament, demanding

justice: the parliament answered, at their leisure, by a vote, "That Sir John Hotham had done nothing but in obedience to the commands of both houses, and that the proclaiming him traitor was a high breach of their privileges!"

The melancholy sequel of this tragedy can find no fitter place than the present. It is one among numberless domestic instances of the miseries attendant on those wars, to the more specific occurrences of which we are now approaching.

Sir John Hotham was of an ancient family and good estate in the neighbourhood of Hull; a circumstance which led to his appointment to be governor of that town. He was, in heart, a royalist. It was his personal hatred to Strafford alone which engaged him on the side of the parliament; and so little confidence did that party place in his fidelity, that he perceived, with bitterness, his eldest son, Captain Hotham (a youth who, with all the headlong ardour of his years, had embraced the popular cause), was associated with him in his trust, that he might act as a spy on his parent. Sir John Hotham's conduct, subsequent to the repulse of the king, gave, in several instances, so little satisfaction to his masters, that nothing but the great confidence they placed in the son's zealous discharge of the office he had undertaken prevailed with them to continue the father in his government. The war began; and events occurred to check the forward zeal of young Hotham. He grew jealous of Fairfax, under whose orders he was placed, and engaged in a correspondence with the Earl of Newcastle,

commander in Yorkshire for the king. Both were now to be got rid of. An accusation was easily procured against the father. Father and son were, therefore, suddenly seized and sent up to the parliament, by whom both were instantly charged with high treason, and committed to the Tower. In that fortress they passed upwards of a year, their fate being held in suspense by the interest of friends. This support then failing them, they were brought before a court-martial, and both condemned to the loss of their heads. The artifices, says Clarendon, that were used against these unhappy gentlemen, both before and after their trial, were so barbarous and inhuman, as had hardly before been practised in any Christian land. Yet the instrument of them was a pretended minister of religion. The famous Hugh Peters was the chaplain sent to prepare them for death. This man, by insinuating to both that the life of only one of them would be exacted, drew over each by the miserable hope of saving his own life to become the accuser of the other. The father aggravated the offences of the son; the son inveighed against the delinquencies of the father; and thus Peters, on whose mediation each relied for a reprieve, drew from them sufficient to procure the sure destruction of both. The son was first executed; the next day Peters appeared on the scaffold with the father, and assured the gaping multitude who came to glut themselves with the sight of blood, that they died justly, for "they had made their confession to him, and acknowledged their offences against the parliament!"

Preparations for war now proceeded rapidly. The parliament issued orders to the lieutenants of counties, appointed by them, to carry into effect their ordinance for the militia. The king in return sent forth commissions of array, according to the custom of ancient times, to raise forces in each county. The parliament declared all the commissioners of array to be traitors, and ordered them to be apprehended. They voted that an army should be raised "for the defence of the king and parliament," and appointed the Earl of Essex to command it. The king immediately raised a regiment which became the nucleus of an army; appointed Lindsey his general; and proclaimed Essex, and all the officers under him, who should not lay down their arms rebels and traitors. The parliament declared the proclamation a libellous and scandalous paper, and retorted the crime of treason on all those by whom it had been advised, and by whom it should be abetted or obeyed. Both parties appealed to God and the people, as witnesses that not they, but their opponents, were the authors of the impending war; both, finally, abandoned all pretence of expecting a settlement of their differences by any but the arbitrement of the sword. By these proceedings the whole kingdom was thrown into confusion. In every county, almost in every town, the recruiting drum of either party summoning the inhabitants to muster beneath the standard of Essex, Bedford, and Kimbolton, or that of Lindsey, Newcastle, and Hertford, mingled its harsh notes with those of its warlike rival. Strife and variance, hatred and all evil

passions, soon found a consecration and an open avowal in every neighbourhood and on every hearth. The father was divided against the son, the son against the father; brother was separated from brother, never, it might be, to meet again, unless in mutual opposition amid the conflict of battle. Many, and those not the least conscientious, torn with doubts, hesitated; not daring to choose, where both sides appealed, with equal confidence, to justice and the laws. But neutrality was the one crime which both avenged; and he who was plundered to-day for being neutral, by the royalists, might to-morrow be carried before the parliament for the same offence, committed to prison, and there perish. Yet it was within the walls of the house of Commons, that the voice of moderation was still raised by two or three individuals; endured, from invincible respect for truth and honesty, but unregarded, and having indeed, with their pure and prudential virtues, no longer "any business" in that agitated convention. From the speeches of such men, among whom Rudyard and Whitelocke were the chief, we select that of Whitelocke, as eloquently and most prophetically descriptive of the miseries which were actually suspended over the nation.

After adverting to the restless attempts of popery, as the alleged origin of those divisions which distracted the country, he thus continued:—"But I look upon another beginning of our troubles. God blessed us with a long and flourishing peace, and we turned his grace into wantonness, and peace would not satisfy us without luxury, nor our plenty without

debauchery; instead of sobriety and thankfulness for our mercies, we provoked the Giver of them by our sins and wickedness to punish us, as we may fear, by a civil war, to make us executioners of the Divine vengeance upon ourselves.

"It is strange to note how we have insensibly slid into this beginning of a civil war, by one unexpected accident following after another, as waves of the sea, which have brought us to this point. But what may be the progress of it, the poet tells you:

> 'Jusque datum sceleri canimus: populumque potentum
> In sua victrici conversum viscera dextra.'

We must surrender up our lives into the hands of insolent mercenaries, whose rage and violence will command us and all we have; and reason, honour, and justice, will quit our land: the ignoble will rule the noble, baseness will be preferred before virtue, profaneness before piety. Of a potent people we shall make ourselves weak, and be the instruments of our own ruin; we shall burn our own houses, lay waste our own fields, pillage our own goods, open our own veins, devour our own bowels. You will hear other sounds besides those of drums and trumpets,—the clattering of armour, the roaring of guns, the groans of wounded and dying men, the shrieks of deflowered women, the cries of widows and orphans; and all on your account, which makes it to be the most lamented. Pardon the warmth of my expressions: I would prevent a flame which I see kindled in the midst of us, that may consume us to ashes.

"The sum of the progress of civil war is the rage of fire and sword, and (which is worse) of brutish men. What the issue of it will be, no man alive can tell; probably few of us now here may live to see the end of it. It has been said, 'He that draws his sword against his prince, must throw away the scabbard.' Those differences are scarce to be reconciled. Those commotions are like the deep seas: being once stirred, they are not soon appeased. I wish the observation of the Duke de Rohan may prove a caution, not a prophecy. He saith of England, that it is 'a great creature, which cannot be destroyed but by its own hand.' And there is not a more likely hand than that of civil war to do it. The best issue that can be expected of a civil war, is, 'Ubi victor flet, et victus perit;' which of these will be our portion is uncertain, and the choice should be avoided.

"Yet, though I have said this, I am not for a tame resignation of our religion, lives, and liberties, into the hands of our adversaries, who seek to devour us. Nor do I think it inconsistent with your great wisdom to prepare for a just and necessary defence of them. But I humbly move you to consider, whether it be not yet too soon to come to it. We have tried by proposals of peace to his majesty, and they have been rejected. Let us try again; let us review our former propositions; and where the matter of them (as our affairs now are) is found fit to be altered, let alterations be made; that, as far as may consist with the security of ourselves and our cause, we may unite our endeavours to prevent those miseries which look black upon us: so that there

may be no strife between us and those of the other party, 'for we are brethren.'"

The speech of Sir Henry Killigrew, on the same occasion, though in a different strain, was equally characteristic. When, says Clarendon, the members of the house stood up, and declared what horse they would raise and maintain, and that they would live and die with their general, one saying he would raise ten horses, another twenty, that frank and couragous royalist rose with the rest: "When," said he, "I see occasion, I will provide a good horse, and a good buff coat, and a good pair of pistols; and then I make no question but I shall find a good cause." Perceiving that after so blunt and unexpected a declaration his presence was little desired, either on the benches of the Commons or in the streets of London, he took horse for Cornwall, where his estate lay, and was among the first who distinguished themselves in the brillant actions of the king's friends in the west.

But the members did not depend on their individual resources. The parliament had the whole revenues of the kingdom at their command. They immediately applied to the purposes of the war one hundred thousand pounds of the money raised for the relief of Ireland: the same sum was lent them by the authorities of the City, whose liberality was eagerly seconded by the popular enthusiasm. Plate, money, jewels, were poured out before the committee of treasurers, until hands were wanting to receive and room to lay up the profuse, but, in some instances, cumbrous offerings of the poor people; some of whom

attended again and again, to purchase, with property which they could ill spare, the unknown miseries of years of bloodshed. Yet this abundant voluntary aid from the capital did not preclude the employment of other means in the country, and wherever a less willing disposition prevailed; one of the first exploits of Cromwell was to plunder the house of his uncle, Sir Oliver Cromwell, at Ramsey, of his arms and plate. On the royalist side the sinews of war were not so easily strung. Far from having means to levy or pay soldiers, Charles found himself reduced so low, at this time, by the seizure of his revenues, that one table, at which his children ate with him, was all he could afford. Some arms and ammunition had with difficulty found their way to the coast of Yorkshire, from the queen, but no money. A few contributions, however, came in from the nobility and gentry. Oxford sent the University plate to be coined for the king's use; Cambridge also was following the example, when the vigilance of Cromwell succeeded in arresting the valuable treasure on its way.

Eager for the carnage to come, the sword of this restless and robust puritan had, in fact, already left its scabbard. Before any commissions were issued, he had trained and armed, at his own expense, the fearless yeomanry of his native neighbourhood; and had begun to exercise their activity and valour in such exploits as those above related. Hampden, beneath his "breezy hills" and among the "ancient woods" that surround, at this day, his mansion in Buckinghamshire, and other patriots in their several

counties, were similarly engaged. Some trifling skirmishes had already occurred, in the north, between comparatively large bodies of men on both sides; whom, not want of daring or of mutual animosity, but awe at the thought of being the first to shed blood in that unnatural strife, withheld, for a time, from serious conflict; when, at Portsmouth, the war actually commenced. Goring, the governor of that town, an officer of ability and experience, was raised by the parliament to the rank of lieutenant-general, and appointed to organize and discipline the army for the Earl of Essex. On various pretences he delayed, as long as he could, to appear in that service; and, on receiving peremptory orders from Lord Kimbolton, replied, that he held Portsmouth from the king, and could not, without his majesty's permission, absent himself from his government. He then administered an oath of allegiance to the garrison and inhabitants, and shut the gates. Sir William Waller immediately advanced to besiege him; while, at the same time, some ships were brought to blockade the town by sea. On hearing this, Charles judged that the time was come, when he could no longer delay a solemn appeal to the sword; he therefore published a proclamation, requiring all his subjects who could bear arms to meet him at Nottingham by the twenty-third of August, on which day he designed to set up his royal standard.

When the day arrived, Charles, with his shadow of an army, consisting of a few troops of horse, was lying near Coventry; into which place he had been refused admittance by the parliamentarian party

within. Leaving his forces there, he rode over to Nottingham, where preparations had been made for his reception, attended only by a small party of his family and adherents. The weather was sullen and tempestuous; the greater part of the day had been consumed in the journey; and evening began to draw in, and when Sir Thomas Brooks, Sir Arthur Hopton, Sir Francis Wortley, and Sir Robert Dadington, the knights chosen to bear the royal standard, proceeded with it from the castle to the adjoining hill, followed by his majesty, the Prince of Wales, Prince Rupert, and other lords and gentlemen who had joined the king. A numerous company, mounted and on foot, had likewise come in from the surrounding country; rather, indeed, as afterwards appeared, to indulge their curiosity with respect to the mode of conducting an ancient ceremony, never before witnessed in the memory of man, than to offer loyal assistance to their sovereign.

On the hill, three troops of horse and a corps of about six hundred foot were drawn up, to guard the standard. As soon as it was brought to the summit, the king directed a herald to read his proclamation, declaring the ground and cause of that act of warlike solemnity. Just as the herald was about to begin, a scruple seemed to cross Charles's mind. He desired to see the proclamation; and, calling for pen and ink, placed the paper on his knee, as he sat in the saddle, and made several alterations with his own hand; afterwards returning it to the herald. That officer then read it, but, on coming to the pas-

sages which the king had corrected, with some embarrassment. Immediately the trumpets sounded, the standard was advanced, and the spectators threw up their hats, shouting, "God save the king!" The standard was a large blood-red ensign, or streamer, bearing the royal arms quartered, with a hand pointing to the crown, which stood above, and inscribed with the motto, "Give to Cæsar his due." Farther on, towards the point, were represented, at intervals, the rose, the fleur-de-lis, and the harp, each surmounted by the royal crown. A more stirring legend, than that cold appeal to justice might, perhaps, have been wisely chosen; yet its temperate demand was calculated to rouse in English bosoms a thought which the wild course of events had been sweeping towards oblivion — viz. while all besides were clamouring for rights, real or feigned, had not the king his rights also; rights which never should have been regarded as hostile to those of the people?

Some delay now took place. It was with difficulty the standard could be fixed in this place, the ground being a solid rock, and no instrument to pierce it having been provided. Scarcely had this object been accomplished, by means of digging into the firm stone with the daggers and halberd-points of the soldiers, when a fierce gush of wind, sweeping with a wild moan across the face of the hill, laid prostrate the emblem of sovereignty. Many persons regarded this accident as a presage of evil, and a general melancholy overspread the assembly. That day no further attempt was made. The louring sky of evening sym-

pathised with the shadow that lay on men's spirits; and the standard was borne back into the castle, with the same state as had attended it to the field, but nearly in silence. Whispers, and words low and dubious, as of suppressed apprehension, passed from man to man; and if, now and then, some faint acclamations rose from the people, their effect was rather to startle than to animate. The next day, indeed, the ceremony was repeated, with less gloomy auspices; again, likewise, the day following; his majesty and his train presenting themselves, each time, as at first. Within three or four days, however, the news arriving that the important town of Portsmouth had been surrendered to his enemies, that royal solemnity, by which the horrors of intestine strife were sanctified, and a charter given to impetuous passions and wasting calamity to riot through the land, became associated in the mind of Charles himself with a gloom neither visionary nor transient.

CHAPTER VI.

THE FIRST BATTLE—EDGE-HILL.

The reader may adopt which side he please, in the much-contested and interminable question, so interesting to the fame of both the two great belligerent parties,—"Who began the civil war?" But, one thing is beyond question,—that the forces of the parliament were actually in the field earlier than those of Charles. At the time when the king set up his standard, he had with him scarcely troops sufficient to guard it, or to protect his own person; his slender stock of arms and ammunition was still lying at York; and the troops he had left before Coventry, neither in numbers, nor in any other respect, deserved the name of an army. It was, indeed, the common belief of his adversaries, both in and out of parliament, that he would be wholly without means to oppose their successful levies; and would consequently be obliged, after all, to submit to their terms without drawing the sword. In the majority of counties, they were able to prevent the commissioners of array from carrying the royal proclamation into effect; while, at the same time, their own levies proceeded without

interruption. Kent, Surrey, Sussex, and the southern counties in general, chose the popular side; the vigilance and activity of Cromwell, in Norfolk, Suffolk, Huntingdonshire, and Cambridgeshire, crushed, at a blow, the whole interest of the royal party in the east; Middlesex, including London, was entirely at their command. Such indeed, was the eargerness of the capital to serve under Essex, that, immediately on the issuing of the commissions, four thousand citizens presented themselves in one day, at the Artillery Ground, for enlistment.

On both sides, the raising of troops was undertaken by the zealous friends of the cause, chiefly in their own neighbourhoods, where their interest was greatest. On both sides also, but not to an equal extent, the expense of the levies and equipments was defrayed by those individuals who raised their respective regiments, and by whom they were afterward, in most instances, commanded. The king, in effect, was wholly dependent on the wealthy royalists for the support of his troops; but the parliament, having the command of the national revenues, and beginning already to seize for the public service the property of delinquents, had, from the first, the means of proposing a regular scale of pay, extending from ten pounds per day for the lord-general, to eightpence per day for the privates in infantry regiments. Those noblemen and gentlemen were in general the most active in collecting troops, whose names acquired the chief celebrity during the earlier periods of the war. On the part of the parliament, Sir Thomas

Fairfax, in the north; Sir William Waller, at Exeter; the Earl of Bedford, in Bedfordshire; Lord Brooke, in Warwickshire; Lord Kimbolton and Cromwell, in Huntingdonshire and the adjoining counties; Sir Arthur Haslerigg, in Leicestershire; Lord Say and his sons, in Oxfordshire; Lord Wharton and Hampden, in Buckinghamshire; Hollis, Stapleton, and Skippon, in Middlesex, distinguished themselves by their exertions in this service. The recruits were placed at the disposal of the Committee of safety, the parliamentary executive, and supplied the reinforcements for the army under Essex, mustering at Northampton.

England,—the loud beating of whose warlike pulse had, since the great dispute arose, wholly drowned the faint, decaying traditions of those miseries that attended her ancient domestic feuds,—had likewise happily forgotten military tactics, and their very nomenclature had become an unknown language. To drill their zealous recruits, withdrawn suddenly from the plough, the anvil, or the loom, the parliament employed officers who had served in the wars of Germany: the fortifications and management of the artillery were chiefly confided to foreign soldiers of fortune, German or French. The proper equipment of the men was, for the same reason, a difficulty which it required time to surmount. The rude but picturesque matchlocks, or muskets, of the period, and, when these could not be had, pikes and poleaxes, supplied the arms of the infantry; the long heavy sword, the carbine and pistols, the back and breast plates, with the steel cap,

common to both horse and foot, presented the superior accoutrement of the cavalry or troopers. Both armies, but especially the king's, were at first but imperfectly furnished with arms of any kind: Cromwell's "Ironsides" obtained that well-known title as well on account of the more "complete steel" in which they were belted, as for their invincible daring; and every one has heard of Haslerigg's regiment, nicknamed, by the Cavaliers, "lobsters," "because of their bright iron shells, with which they are covered, being perfect cuirrassiers." The colours of the regiments were various, according to the fancy, or, more frequently, agreeing with the household livery, of the respective leaders. This mark of distinction was the more important, because, at the outbreak of the war, it was sometimes the only means of recognition by which, in battle, friend could be discerned from foe, no distinctive field-word having been adopted. "Hollis's," Lord Nugent, in his life of Hampden, informs us, "were the London red coats; Lord Brooke's, the purple; Hampden's, the green coats; Lord Say's and Lord Mandeville's the blue; the orange which had long been the colour of Lord Essex's household, and now that of his body guard, was worn in a scarf over the armour of all the officers of the parliament army, as the distinguishing symbol of their cause." The king's famous regiment likewise adopted red; the Earl of Newcastle's regiment of Northumbrians were termed, from the white colour of their coats (or, as some say, with reference to their fierce courage), "Newcastle's lambs." It was only by degrees,

however, that any thing like uniformity was attained: the choice of clothing and arms was, in the first instance, often decided by the taste or circumstances of the individual wearer. Each regiment or each troop had its standard, or cornet, bearing, on one side, the watchword of the parliament, "God with us," and on the other the device of its commander, with his motto. The inscription on the Earl of Essex's was "Cave, adsum;" the better-chosen and more characteristic words which waved, in battle, over the head of Hampden, were "Vestigia nulla retrorsum;" later in the war, Algernon Sidney, one of the steadiest adherents to the cause, thus expressed in the motto of the regiment which he commanded, the source of his devotedness to the service: "Sanctus amor patriæ dat animum."

The force which Essex, shortly after the commencement of hostilities, was enabled to bring into the field, consisted of about 15,000 infantry and 4500 cavalry. The cavalry were distributed into seventy-five troops; of the infantry, there were twenty regiments. Under him, the commanders of highest rank were, the Earl of Bedford, general of the horse, assisted by Sir William Balfour; the Earl of Peterborough, general of the ordnance; and Sir John Meyrick, serjeant-major, or (in the language of that day) serjeant-major-general.

Such was the constitution of the army, to put himself at the head of which, that noble commander passed through London on the 4th of September, 1642. Essex was, at this period, in the highest favour with both

parliament and people. His journey resembled a triumphal procession. Accompanied by all the military officers in London, by a long retinue of peers and gentlemen, and by the trained bands, who officiated as his guard, he traversed the City; from whence to Highgate, "a hedge of people" lined the road on each side, and saluted him with acclamations, crying out, "God bless my lord-general! Long life to the lord-general!"

Meantime the king's affairs wore still a depressed aspect—few adherents coming in, and no money; hesitation and uncertainty pervading the minds of his council; a general gloom louring on men's countenances. Charles's resolution was not overcome; for he was confident in the righteousness of his quarrel, naturally sanguine, and inclined to that romantic temper, which is roused and supported by the difficulties attending great enterprises. He was advised to make yet one more attempt to negotiate with the parliament; not with any expectation that his proposals would meet with acceptance, but that, in the event of their rejection, the people might be disabused of the opinion that it was he whose obstinacy was the true cause of the war. This advice was ungrateful to him; but he yielded to the importunity of his council, and despatched propositions for a treaty, by the Earl of Southampton, Sir John Colepepper, and Sir William Uvedale. The event was as had been expected. Conscious of their strength, the parliament treated the messengers with incivility, and haughtily returned

for answer, that until the king withdrew his proclamation, and took down his standard, they could treat no more with him. Charles promised to consent to those conditions, provided the parliament would recall their votes against his friends. They refused; and voted, that they would not lay down their arms till delinquents were brought to justice, and their estates made to defray the debts of the commonwealth. A few days later he sent a third message, in which he solemnly conjured them to reflect what blood would be shed, and referred his cause to the God of heaven: the parliament replied by retorting on him the charge of indifference to the bloodshed that must follow. This correspondence was of prodigious advantage to the king's cause. The sincerity of Charles's wish to retain the sword still in the sheath, if it were possible, consistently with security and honour, was now admitted by many who had doubted it hitherto: concession could go no farther; sufficient barriers against the encroachments of regal power had now been erected; adversity likewise had begun to produce its usual, softening effect upon the king: there must be, at the least, a better prospect of safety to individuals in supporting their sovereign, than in extending the already enormous and illegal power of a party who had declared their purpose to vote whom they pleased delinquents, and seize on their estates for their own purposes. Led, therefore, on the one hand by reviving loyalty, on the other by interest, numbers now hastily sought the royal standard; and when the king prepared to leave

Nottingham, which he did presently after, about the middle of September, his affairs already began to wear a much more cheering appearance.

The royal army having been increased by reinforcements from the west and north, contributions from several sources having come in, and Charles's military stores and little train of artillery being brought up from York, he marched across Derbyshire towards the Welsh borders, designing to fix his head quarters at Shrewsbury.

Between Stafford and Wellington the king halted his army, placed himself in the centre, and, after the reading of his orders of war, reminded his followers of their duty to obey them, and of the probability of an immediate engagement with the enemy. He then proceeded thus; "In the presence of Almighty God, and as I hope for his blessing and protection, I declare that I have no other design, no other wish, but to maintain, in life and death, the Protestant religion as established in the Church of England; to govern according to the known laws of the land; and, in particular, to observe the statutes enacted in the present parliament. Should I wilfully fail in any one of these particulars, I renounce equally all claim to assistance from man, or protection from heaven. If, however, I should be driven, by my present difficulties, and by the dire necessities of war, to any unwilling violation of this engagement, I trust it will be imputed by God and men to the true authors of the war, and not to me, who have earnestly laboured for the preservation of the peace of this kingdom. But as long as I remain

faithful to this promise, I hope for cheerful aid from all good subjects, and am confident of obtaining the blessing of heaven."

The solemnity of this protestation, and the affecting circumstances in which it was made, produced a strong impression, throughout England, in favour of the king; and at Shrewsbury the neighbouring gentry and inhabitants received him with enthusiasm. Here his army presently swelled to the number of about 10,000 foot and between 3000 and 4000 horse. The great bulk of these consisted of the nobility and landed gentry, their tenants and retainers,—those classes on whom the fine magic of loyalty was not yet powerless, and those who were linked to the cause of ancient right and order, by kindred, though less distinguished, ties of duty and dependence. In point of equipment the royal troops were inferior to those of the parliament; but their arms, both offensive and defensive, were nearly similar. Among the most eminent of those royalists, to whose efforts Charles was indebted for the means of taking the field, were—the Earl of Newcastle in the north; the Earl of Lindsey, and his son Lord Willoughby, in Lincolnshire; John (afterwards Lord) Bellasis, son of Lord Falconbridge, in Yorkshire; Lord Strange in Lancashire; the Earl of Northampton, in Warwickshire; in Cornwall, Sir Bevil Grenvil, his younger brother Sir Richard, and his son Sir John Grenvil, Sir Ralph Hopton, and Sir Nicholas Slanning. In the Earl of Lindsey, for too short a period general of his army, the king possessed a brave officer and a

generous subject; the wise and noble-minded Hertford he made lieutenant-general of the west; his commissary-general was Henry (subsequently Lord) Wilmot; in the office of major-general he was well served by the blunt Sir Jacob Ashley; Sir John Heydon, a good officer, was general of the ordinance; and Sir Arthur Aston, "of whose soldiery there was a very great esteem," was made colonel-general of dragoons. Prince Rupert's name has come down to us as almost a synonyme for impetuous daring, as distinguished from sedate and manly courage; and for intolerable haughtiness, unsupported by real superiority. A more striking instance Charles never gave —and his life exhibits not a few—of his blindness to the faults of those he loved, or who stood to him in a relation which in his opinion entitled them to his love, than when he presented that headlong youth with his commission as general of the horse, inserting the strange concession to his vanity, that he should receive orders from no one but himself.

Yet, in the very first considerable skirmish of the war, the youthful German prince performed a part which seemed, for a time, in the eyes of both armies, to justify the favour of his royal uncle. Rupert, with his brother Maurice, Wilmot, and other officers, had been despatched by the king to watch the movements of Essex, now on his march from Northampton towards Worcester, and at the same time to support Sir John Byron, who was on his way from Oxford, with a convoy of plate and money. Byron had already reached Worcester; where Nathaniel

Fiennes and Edwin Sandys, with a party of the troops raised by Lord Say, had formed a plan to seize and carry him off. In the meantime, Rupert, after a long and rapid march, arrived under the walls of that place. The greater part of his wearied men he permitted to go into the town for refreshment; but intending to retire as soon as they returned with such intelligence as they could meet with, he remained in the field, and, dismounting, threw himself on the grass, in the midst of his officers, without suspicion that any of the enemy's forces were near the spot. On a sudden, a body of about five hundred horse made their appearance, marching in good order up a lane within musket-shot of the reposing party. No time was there to consult what should be done, or put themselves at the head of their respective troops. Scarcely had they, in their confusion, mounted, when Rupert, crying out, "Let us charge them!" dashed on with his group of officers, followed at intervals by the men; and came upon the advancing party as they were in the act of issuing from the lane. The parliamentarians were well armed, splendidly mounted, and gallantly led by Colonel Sandys; yet, so fierce and unexpected was the onset of the royalists, that the whole body was at once routed, fled, and were pursued by the conquerors. Between forty and fifty, chiefly officers, were killed. Sandys himself was taken prisoner, and shortly afterwards died of his wounds. Six or seven colours were likewise captured, with many good horses, and some arms. "This rencounter," remarks Lord Clarendon, "proved of great advantage to the

king. For it being the first action his horse had been brought into, and that party of the enemy being the most picked and choice men, it gave his troops great courage, and rendered the name of Prince Rupert very terrible, and exceedingly appalled the adversary; insomuch that they had not, in a long time after, any confidence in their horse, and their numbers were much lessened by it. For that whole party being routed, and the chief officers of name and reputation either killed or taken, many of those who escaped never returned to the service; and, which was worse, for their own excuse talked aloud, wherever they went, of the incredible and irresistible courage of Prince Rupert and the king's horse."

The Earl of Essex's orders were, about this time, forwarded to him by the parliament. He was directed "to march with his forces against the king's army, and by battle, or otherwise, to rescue his person, and the persons of the prince and Duke of York, out of the hands of the 'desperate' men by whom they were surrounded; to offer a free pardon to all who, within ten days, should return to their duty, except the Earls of Richmond, Cumberland, Newcastle, Carnarvon, and Rivers, Viscounts Newark and Falkland, Secretary Nicholas, Endimion Porter, and Edward Hyde; and to forward to the king a petition that he would withdraw himself from his wicked counsellors, and once more rely on the loyalty and obedience of his parliament. As far as regarded the petition, the earl lost no time in discharging his trust. Immediately on his arrival at Worcester, he signified to the Duke

of Dorset, then in attendance upon the king at Shrewsbury, that such a paper was intrusted to him to deliver. Charles replied that he ever had been, and would be, ready to receive any petition from his two houses of parliament; but that he would not receive the petition out of the hands of a traitor. With respect to the more substantial part of his commission, the general of the parliament appeared dilatory and wavering. The impatient energies of Hampden, and Hollis, and Brooke, could not endure a detention of three weeks within the crumbling walls of Worcester: they sought, and found opportunities of breathing their valour, in encounters, far and near, with such detachments of the enemy as were to be met with at a distance from the main body. It was not lack of courage, or of ambition, or of honourable fidelity to the solemn duty he had undertaken, that withheld Essex from advancing. That noble person, in common with many on both sides, was perplexed with the contest in his soul between his old habitual feelings and his new engagements. Owing to the misfortunes of his early life, the earl had at no time been held in that consideration at the court which his merits, as well as his rank might fairly challenge. By Charles himself he had been coldly, nay, unkindly treated. But for the alienation caused by these circumstances in the mind of a nobleman and soldier, conscious of what was due to himself, the parliament might have had to seek some other for their general. And still the uneradicable sense of loyalty and honour had held him back, but for that subtle

distinction between "the king in his corporate and his personal capacity, which had decided stronger heads than his own to arm in the king's name against the king." Such was then the distracted condition of the noblest and manliest minds. In that unhappy period these adverse wrenchings of a "divided duty" were a source of misery, compared with which imprisonment and forfeiture, proscription, or even death itself, were tolerable. This torn state of feeling was experienced on both sides, but especially on the side of the parliament; the mere novelty of whose position was sufficient to harass the conscience with misgivings. Hence, when the critical, the trying hour arrived, not a few who, up to that hour, had striven resolvedly with the parliament against the king, now sought relief by passing over to cool their fevered thoughts beneath the shelter of the royal banner. There it was better with them, yet not well. The worm was gnawing still, though its fangs were fastened in a less vital part; for, to men of high honour and true religion—the ennobling characteristics of so many in that generation—at once to cast off allegiance to the sovereign, and to trample on the church, was felt as a doubled parricide. The oppressed bosom yielded to melancholy forebodings of its own fate, or vented itself in vain and womanly reproaches on those it regarded as the authors of its agonies. Thus the once vivacious, but now broken-hearted Falkland, "sitting among his friends, often, after a deep silence and frequent sighs, would, with a shrill and sad accent, ingeminate the word Peace! peace!" and thus the

stronger, but equally foreboding heart of Sir Bevil Grenvil, poured its burning indignation over his own neighbours who had turned "traitors," and raked into the sad story of Essex's early life for a scornful epithet to level against "the great cuckold who is forced to shut himself up within the walls of Worcester."

Charles had been able to raise his army to a more respectable state of numbers, discipline, and equipment, than, in so short a time, could have seemed possible. Encouraged by the reviving sentiment in his favour, by the success of his skirmishing parties, and by the inaction of the enemy, he resolved to march from Shrewsbury directly on London, at once to terminate the war. Two days elapsed before Essex had put his forces in motion to follow.

Great surprise pervaded the parliament at the unlooked for manner in which their urgent entreaties for the king's return to London seemed now about to be granted; while the people, who had been taught to expect no more to see the sovereign, except as the submissive thrall of "his faithful parliament," were in the greatest consternation. Not vainly, however, did they look to that energetic convention, for direction and support in their apprehended danger; nor did the "maliguants," who now began to emerge from concealment, find that peril had relaxed the arm of the self-appointed guardians of the nation's safety. All persons who had neglected to contribute to the charges of the army were ordered to be secured and disarmed; all the horses fit for service in the city and suburbs were seized; chains were drawn across the outlets of the

city, and barricades erected in the streets. Men, women, and children, worked together at these rude defences; and the citizens cheerfully obeyed the order of parliament to close their shops and manufactories, and place their time and their property at its disposal.

On the morning of the 23d of October, the capital was agitated by a sudden rumour that a fatal battle had been fought. Fugitives from the field had been seen, breathless with haste and fright, hurrying along the roads, and proclaiming that all was lost. The news was circulated in a thousand varied but terrific shapes. Essex had perished, and with his dying words exhorted every man to shift for himself: the king's army was terrible, and resistance utterly vain. All Monday the city continued a prey to these rumours. At length came despatches from Essex; but fear had, by this time, taken complete possession of men's minds; the earl's report was favourable, and could not be true. The Lord Hastings had entered the house, with ghastly looks, during the reading of the despatches, and declared that he had himself been an eye-witness to the defeat. Hastings had indeed been among the foremost to run away; but the last messenger that arrived was the most trusted, more particularly if his report confirmed the worst. In the horror and consternation of eight-and-forty hours, writes the royalist historian, every man underwent a full penance and mortification for the hopes and insolence of three months before. This must be understood of the honest citizens of London. The great assembly at Westminster seems to have been but little moved. On that very day they voted,

indeed, an order for the trained bands to put themselves in motion; but proceeded quietly, at the same time, with the ordinary business of parliament.

On the third day, two members, Wharton and Strode, arrived from the army, and gave a circumstantial statement of the occurrences there, first in their places in parliament, and afterwards to the citizens in the common hall. Their narratives, as might have been foreseen, were partial and confused; nor was that afterwards ordered by the houses to be printed and circulated, free from the same defects. The plainer relation of the king presents a more correct, though meagre, outline of the main incidents which signalised that day, so memorable in English annals as that the first battle of the GREAT CIVIL WAR.

Charles had received intelligence of Essex's march, and had turned to face his pursuer. It was early in the morning of the 23d day of October, 1642, when Prince Rupert, dashing on, as usual, with his gallant cuirassiers, found himself on the brow of the wild ridge of Edge-hill, which overlooks the "vale of the Red Horse," near Kineton, in Warwickshire. His quick eye caught at once the object of its search —the army of the Earl of Essex; its dark masses drawn up along the vale below, in compact order of battle. At this sight, the prince checked his career; for the van of the king's infantry was left far behind, and his artillery was at a distance of not less than three hours' march: noon had, therefore, long passed, ere the royalists had wound their march, which they were permitted to do without interruption, down the

declivity of the hill, and confronted, on even ground, their expectant adversaries.

Charles assembled round him his lords and captains, and addressed them with feeling and dignity. "My lords, and all here present," he said, "the foe is in sight. Your king is both your cause, your quarrel, and your captain. I have written and declared that I intended always to maintain the Protestant religion, the privileges of the parliament, and the liberties of the subject; and now I must prove my words by the convincing argument of the sword. Let Heaven show his power by this day's victory to declare me just, and as a lawful, so a loving king to my subjects. Come life or death, your king will bear your company, and ever keep this field, this place, and this day's service in his grateful remembrance." He then rode through the ranks clad in shining steel armour, and wearing a mantle of black velvet, on the front of which glittered his brilliant star and George, and thus continued:—"Friends and soldiers! you are called cavaliers and royalists, in a disgraceful sense. If I suffer in my fame, needs must you do likewise. Now shew yourselves no malignants, but declare what courage and fidelity is within you. Fight for the peace of the kingdom and the Protestant religion. The valour of cavaliers hath honoured that name both in France and other countries, and now let it be known in England, as well as horseman or trooper. The name of cavalier, which our enemies have striven to make odious, signifies no more than a gentleman serving his king on horseback. Show yourselves, therefore, now courage-

ous cavaliers, and beat back all opprobrious aspersions cast upon you.

"Friends and soldiers! I look upon you with joy to behold an army as great as ever king of England had in these later times. I thank your loves offered to your king, to hazard your lives and fortunes with me in my urgent necessity. I feel at this time that no father can leave his son, no subject his lawful king. But matters are not now to be decided by words, but by swords. You all think our thoughts, while I reign over your affections as well as your persons. My resolution is to try the doubtful chance of war, while with much grief I must stand to and endure the hazards. I desire not the effusion of blood, but since Heaven hath so decreed, and that so much preparation hath been made, we must needs accept of the present occasion for an honourable victory and glory to our crown, since reputation is that which gilds over the richest gold, and shall ever be the endeavour of our whole reign. Your king bids you all be courageous, and Heaven make you victorious!"

Already the fatal cause in Prince Rupert's commission, which placed the officer above the orders of his general, had begun to produce its malignant fruits. Lindsey's plan for the disposition of the army was disapproved by the prince. Ruthen, afterwards Earl of Brentford, to whom the king had given a field-marshal's staff at Shrewsbury, having been trained in the same school of tactics, supported the royal hussar. Charles approved. With a grieved heart, the generous veteran, who bore the name, without having the autho-

rity, of general, retired to the head of his regiment; where he declared he would fight, and there die, as a private colonel. When the signal to engage was given, he encouraged his men with a few cheerful words; then, grasping a pike, gallantly led them forward to the charge, on foot. With equal bravery, Essex advanced, in the same manner, on the other side; and the cannon from both hosts "having discharged their choleric errands," the battle closed, the king, giving the word with solemnity. "Go in the name of God, and I will lay my bones with yours."

The command of the royalists' right wing was taken by Prince Rupert; of their left, by Commissary-general Wilmot. To Rupert was immediately opposed the chief strength of the parliament's horse; in which force they were inferior to the king. Here it was that the fight began. Rupert, his strength augmented by the accession of a regiment which, at the instant of charging, came over and joined him, fell upon the enemy with his characteristic impetuosity, and bore down all before him. In a moment their entire left wing gave way, and was dispersed. On the king's left wing, Wilmot, following, with corresponding success, the example of the prince, drove the parliament's horse opposed to him through a body of musketeers which had been drawn up for their support. Every other consideration was now lost sight of by the victors, in the pursuit, which they continued as far as Kineton, a distance of between two and three miles. There Hampden, hastening forward with his own and another regiment and some pieces of artillery,

found them engaged in pillaging the rich baggage of Essex and his officers; and, by his unexpected appearance, first reminded Rupert, and his ill-employed followers, of returning to the scene they had so imprudently abandoned.

Night was closing in upon the field of civil carnage, when Prince Rupert returned to witness the effects of his rash conduct. He found the royal army harassed and broken, and the king himself exposed to imminent danger, while riding to the foremost ranks, he animated the few troops that yet stood firm, by his words and his example. Charles's own "red regiment," at their earnest request, had obtained leave to be absent that day from his person, and to charge in front among the horse. Against this, and the Earl of Lindsey's, the king's next best regiment, were directed the successive charges of the powerful brigades of Essex's foot, commanded by the general in person, by Hollis, and by Colonel Charles Essex; while Sir William Balfour, bringing up his reserve of horse, which had not shared in the general rout of the parliament's cavalry, broke in with terrible execution upon the main body of the royalists. It was now that Lindsey fell, severely wounded, and was instantly surrounded and made prisoner; which Lord Willoughby perceiving, rushed into the midst of the enemy, and voluntarily surrendered himself, to attend on his barve parent. Sir Edmund Varney, the king's standard-bearer, was slain, and the standard taken and retaken: two regiments only maintained their ground. The king and Prince Rupert made every effort to prevail

on such squadrons of cavalry as had now returned, to charge afresh; but without success. Their reappearance, however, put a stop to the slackened movements of the parliamentarians; and the shadows of night descended on the motionless hosts, where they stood gazing on each other, as if struck with silent remorse, neither side daring to believe that they had gained the first fratricidal victory of the war. Charles now commanded the Prince of Wales and the Duke of York, who had hitherto been by his side, to retire from the field; but refused to yield to the entreaties of his officers to abandon it himself. He had shown himself equal, in gallantry and firmness, to the great and unexampled circumstances in which he that day stood: he determined to risk nothing now; "well knowing," observes Clarendon, "that as that army was raised by his person and presence only, so it could by no other means be kept together; and he thought it unprincely to forsake them who had forsaken all they had to serve him." Doubtful of his actual position, and of what might follow, the sovereign merely dismounted from his horse, and seated himself by such a fire as could be kindled with the furze and scanty brushwood which grew on the barren heath. It was a keen autumn night; and a freezing wind sighed along the unsheltered slopes of Edge-hill. Essex's camp was well furnished with provisions; but the king's troops, who had had nothing to eat for many hours, were in danger of perishing with cold and hunger: for the peasantry of the surrounding country, zealously devoted to the interests

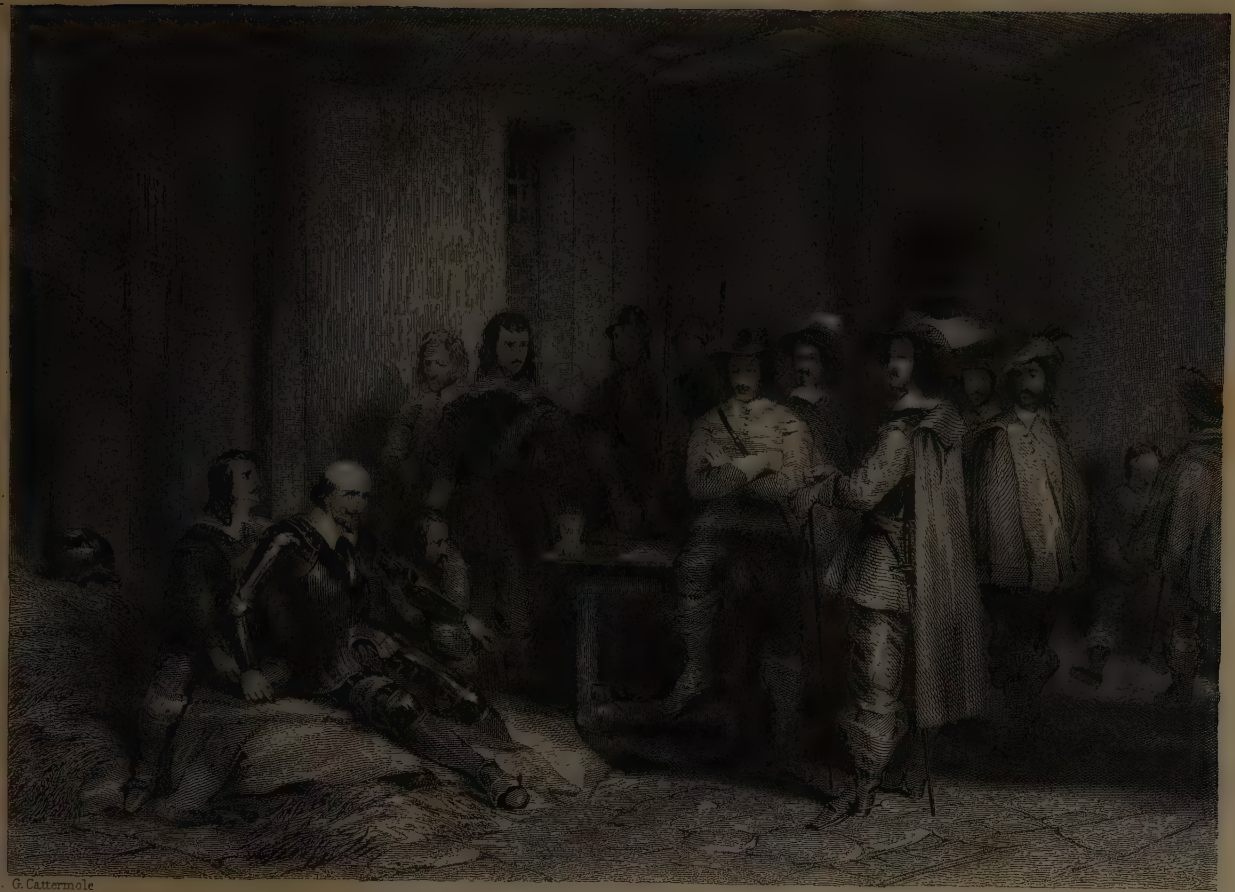
of the parliament, refused to supply provisions for the "papistical cavaliers and malignants" who fought with King Charles. More than once, during the night, a report arose that the rebels had retreated: but when day appeared, they were seen standing in the same spot. Morning advanced, yet neither army moved from its position.

The king having received intelligence, some days before, that many officers and soldiers of the enemy were ready to lay down their arms, and come over to him, upon assurance of a good reception, had prepared a proclamation to that effect. With this proclamation, he, about noon, sent one of his heralds, Sir William le Neve, to the Earl of Essex; rather, indeed, to observe the enemy's condition, and to ascertain what prisoners had fallen into their hands, than with much hope of its producing the effect originally contemplated. Clarendon's account of Sir William's reception is amusing. "Before Sir William came to the army he was received by the out-guards, and conducted with such strictness, that he could say or publish nothing among the soldiers, to the Earl of Essex; who, when he offered to read the proclamation aloud, that he might be heard by those who were present, rebuked him with some roughness, and charged him, 'as he loved his life, not to presume to speak a word to the soldiers;' and, after some few questions, sent him presently back, well guarded, through the army, without any answer at all. At his return he had so great and feeling a sense of the danger he had passed, that he made little

observation of the posture or number of the enemy; only, he seemed to have seen or apprehended so much trouble and disorder in the faces of the Earl of Essex, and the principal officers about him, and so much dejection in the common soldiers, that they looked like men who had no further ambition than to keep what they had left." The king and Essex were both desirous of renewing the engagement, but were prevented; Essex, by the advice of Dalbier and the other mercenaries, by whom, chiefly, his brigades were officered; the king, by the exhausted condition of his troops. Charles drew out his horse at the foot of the hill; brought off his cannon, including several of the parliament's, without disturbance; lingered till evening upon the summit; then moved forward his standard, which, in that conspicuous position, had all day long tossed its defying streamers in the breeze; and led his wearied followers to their previous quarters at Edgcot, where they obtained food and rest.

In this first great action there fell between 5000 and 6000 men, of whom two thirds were parliamentarians. On that side two colonels, Charles Essex, reputed the ablest officer under the earl, and the Lord St. John, were slain. Of the king's party, there died on the field of battle, besides Sir Edmund Varney, Lord Aubigny, one of three brave sons of the Duke of Lenox, who that day fought for the king, and Colonel Monroe, "a great commander." General Lindsey was borne, profusely bleeding, from the fight, by the pious assiduity of Lord Willoughby, to the rude shed of a neighbouring farm. In the heat

and distraction of the engagement, Essex, "among whose faults, however, want of civility and courtesy was none," forgot to send surgeons to tend his unfortunate antagonist. It was midnight when one arrived, with Sir William Balfour, and other officers, whom the parliament's general had sent to tender Lindsey such assistance as was at his command, designing himself to visit the wounded commander. They found him stretched on a little straw, pale from loss of blood, but with looks full of animation. "Gentlemen," he said, I am sorry to see so many of you, and among you some of my old friends, engaged in so foul a rebellion." Then directing his discourse particularly to Balfour, he put that knight in mind of the great obligations he was under to the king. His majesty had incurred the displeasure of the whole nation by giving him the command of the Tower of London: was it not odious ingratitude to make his royal master the return he had that day made? "Gentlemen," continues the dying earl, "tell my Lord Essex that he ought to throw himself at the king's feet, and implore forgiveness; speedily let him do it, if he would not have his name a word of reproach among his countrymen!" The passionate earnestness of the loyal veteran quickened the exhausting flow of blood. The parliamentary officers retired in silence. Ere morning dawned, Lord Willoughby, amid his unavailing services by that forlorn bed of death, had become Earl of Lindsey. Charles made earnest efforts for the immediate release of the victim of filial affection; but the parliament refused to accept any exchange for young Lindsey, and he remained nearly a year their



G. Cattermole H. Rolls

Death of the Earl of Lindsay.

prisoner. Other scenes, no less sad, were passing nigh at hand: the following is related, as one of the affecting incidents of this bloody field. "A parliamentary soldier, dying of his wounds, declared that his deepest grief was having received his death from the hand of his brother. Him he had recognized among the royal troops, and turned aside; but the carbine was impetuously discharged by the hand which had never before been raised but in affection."

As soon as the armies had quitted the ground, other parties took possession of it. The fugitive soldiers who had skulked in the neighbouring villages, returned with the rude rustics to rifle the dying and the dead. The clergy of the vicinity assembled their more charitable parishioners to register and give sepulture to those earliest sacrifices to the Moloch of intestine strife. Brother sought out brother, and sons their fathers, to snatch the remains of those they loved from an undistinguished grave, or it might be, to cherish and rekindle the yet lingering spark of life. The name of more than one son, of knightly race, is preserved, who, after a search of days, found his parent, naked, covered with wounds, and well nigh frozen in his blood; and had his pious cares repaid by the sufferer's recovery.

Both sides claimed the victory at Edge-hill, which, in fact, neither obtained. The parliament voted that their army had been victorious, and ordered a solemn thanksgiving. The king published a "declaration" of his acts and motives; and forwarded a proclamation, offering a free pardon to the cities of London and West-

minster, if they would lay down their arms, in which it is implied that his majesty had been prosperous in the late action. With Charles rested, at all events, the advantages of victory. While Essex, his rear harassed by the royal horse, retreated on Warwick and Coventry, the king's army pushed forward towards the metropolis; took Banbury, with Lord Peterborough's regiment of six hundred men, quartered in the town; and continued its march, without interruption, to Oxford.

CHAPTER VII.

PARTISAN WARFARE—LORDS BROOKE AND NORTHAMPTON.

While, after the battle of Edge-hill, the operations of the two great armies were suspended, or conducted with languor, the warfare of partisans, in the more remote provinces, grew every day sharper and more general. There the movements of the leaders were unembarrassed by public responsibility or political views; and the private feuds of families and individuals stimulated their zeal, or even determined their choice of a party. The means of commencing and carrying on those little insulated wars, into which every man, even in the remotest corners of the country, if he failed to be drawn by his inclinations, was nevertheless cruelly forced by the circumstances of the time, were obtained in two ways. In the one case, the predominant disposition of a district, of a county, or even of several adjoining counties, influenced and directed probably by one or more distinguished proprietors, embodied itself in an application to the parliament or the king, respectively, for authority to raise troops, and enforce contributions for their maintenance.

Such authority was readily given; a chief or chiefs appointed, or sanctioned, on the recommendation of the applicants, free from all control, except the duty of now and then communicating to the great belligerent parties at Westminster or at Oxford a statement of their operations; or if need arose, of asking advice or assistance. Of these associations, the earliest were those of the northern counties, under the Earl of Newcastle; of the eastern counties, under the Earl of Manchester and Cromwell; of the midland counties, under the Lord Brooke. In the other case, a single bold and zealous individual raised, equipped, and supported, at his own expense, his little band of guerilla warriors, drawn from among his tenantry and neighbours; and carried on the war, as occasion offered, either single-handed, or in conjunction with other adventurers like himself, until his forces became absorbed in some more considerable armament. Of such bodies, the strength, the position, the objects, were continually changing from day to day. One thing alone was permanent, and common to all—to imitate on a smaller scale, but with greater freedom from constraint, the deeds and vices of more numerous armies. Yet the generous nature of the objects of contention,—loyalty, liberty, religion,—in which selfishness had no part, rendered the explosion of the coarser passions in acts of heartless or wanton violence comparatively rare. The English have proved that revolution and civil war, while they rouse honour from the embrace of luxury, and awaken slumbering genius in high and low, are

not necessarily the worst of public evils. Englishmen, in the deadliest conflicts of the Civil War, seldom forgot that they were such; nor was there any one circumstance which contributed more to injure Charles's reputation with this partially misled, but, upon the whole, sound-hearted people, than the powers and indulgences lavished on an individual of a different temper. The unfeeling insolence and predatory fierceness of Rupert were qualities of the foreign soldier of fortune, which darkly distinguished the royal trooper from every other general in the service; and they reflected on the cause for which he fought, a portion of that prejudice wherewith he was himself regarded, partly as a foreigner by birth, but more as foreign in character and manners to the manly and humane temper with which the English mingled in that awful contest.

Various movements occurred in the north between the chivalrous Earl of Newcastle, the king's general for those parts, and Fairfax, whom the parliament had appointed to the chief command of their northern forces. Sir Hugh Cholmondeley defeated and killed Slingsby, the gallant secretary of Lord Strafford, at Gisborough. Lancashire and Cheshire yielded alternately to Sir William Brereton's garrison at Nantwich, and to the royalists at Chester, under Sir Nicholas Byron. In the south, Sir William Waller took Chichester; but this success was more than counterbalanced by the fall of Cirencester, which yielded with its strong garrison to Prince Rupert. Eleven hundred prisoners taken in that place are said by Whitelocke to have been marched into Oxford, in a wretched plight, in

the presence of Charles and his lords; and the memorialist adds an anecdote of a remarkably handsome soldier, who, as he was led along on horseback, on account of the state of exhaustion he was in from his wounds, dropped down and expired while in the act of rallying his sinking strength for an angry reply to some reproachful words addressed to him by one of the spectators.

In the county of Cornwall a romantic and successful spirit of resistance started up, which the parliament, who were strong in the adjoining counties, by no means expected. "There was in this county," observes Clarendon, "as throughout the whole kingdom, a wonderful and superstitious reverence towards the name of a parliament, and a prejudice against the power of the court; yet a full submission to, and love of, the established government of Church and State, especially as concerned the Liturgy, which was a general object of veneration with the people." An observation from which, as indeed from a thousand other sources, we may understand how men were torn by the unhappy events of that period, not only from each other, but from themselves; and, even, within themselves, were divided, not merely by the frequent crossing of their interests and their attachments, but by adverse duties and conflicting principles. The gallant Sir Ralph Hopton, aided by the Grenvils and Sir Nicholas Scanning lighted a fire of loyalty in those remote regions which rapidly spread through the whole west of England. Launceston, Saltash, with a garrison of Scots, opened their gates to the king's forces.

In the famous fight at Bradockdown, Hopton beat an army sent against Cornwall, under the orders of Colonel Ruthen; and with the loss of very few common men, and no officer of name, took 1200 prisoners, most of the colours, and all the ordnance, of the enemy. Ruthen again occupied Saltash, and within three days found means to raise works before that place, fortified with cannon taken from a vessel which he had brought up to the side of the town; but Hopton with his Cornish men coming up, drove the Scot from his fortifications, and then out of the town, with the loss of most of his followers. Ruthen himself with difficulty escaped by water to Plymouth, leaving his artillery, his remaining colours, and 1300 prisoners, in the hands of the enemy. Hopton, who distinguished himself in this action, no less by his humanity than his ability and courage, now remained undisputed master of Cornwall. The next march of this gallant chief was upon Tavistock; where the leading gentlemen of Devonshire laid before him a proposition, designed to avert from their county the miseries of a contest, in which they foresaw the two parties, being nearly balanced, would injure each other without materially affecting the general result. To the plea of humanity Hopton listened, and a solemn engagement was entered into for the two counties. The example of such confederations had already been set in York and Cheshire. The counties agreed to disband the troops already on foot, within their respective jurisdictions, and to oppose the raising or introduction of any others, without the joint consent of the king and the

parliament. Both the belligerents, however, naturally declared against the authority of contracts which, if generally adopted, must have at once put an end to all prospect of that supremacy which each had in view. They were, therefore, quickly laid aside and forgotten; and the demon of Civil War, having shaken from him these ineffectual shackles, traversed, unimpeded and unresting the length and breadth of fair England.

As the English imported republicanism in religion from Geneva, where it existed because the Helvetians could get no bishops; so they brought in republicanism in government from Holland, where it had been adopted because the Dutch could get no king. In our island, republican principles of both kinds (they have both one root) prospered surprisingly,—for this, beyond all other reasons, that England and Scotland had too severely felt the authority both of kings and of bishops.

One of the earliest and least virtuous of English republicans was the Lord Say, who with his sons performed so conspicuous a part in the great revolutionary drama of the seventeenth century. The next of note was Sir Henry Vane the younger. The constitutional disposition (for such it may be termed) of that gifted and admired individual, to the wildest political fancies, was generated by a religious fanaticism so eager, that English puritanism, though in the freshness of youth and the fervour of suffering, was found too tame a stimulant: he sought the intoxicating draught in its more genuine purity, by the waters of Lake Leman,

and amid the "obscure wildernesses of Massachusetts." The third was Vane's contemporary, the second Lord Brooke. Church and king, with whatsoever appertained to them, this nobleman "hated with a perfect hatred;" and as his honesty was thorough, and his intellectual resources, natural and acquired, hardly inferior to the greatest of that illustrious age, he neither concealed his sentiments, nor, when the opportunity presented itself, was found wanting in energy and ability to clothe them in action.

A party of the inhabitants of Lichfield and its vicinity had taken possession of their beautiful cathedral, a place easily defensible; and held it for the king. The Lord Brooke, who had at this time under his command the greater part of the counties of Warwick, Leicester, Stafford, and Derby, resolved to dislodge this inexperienced band of royalists before they should have had time materially to increase the natural strength of their fortress. On the first of March he appeared before the town, at the head of 1200 men, drawn from the Earl of Essex's army, from the garrison at Derby commanded by Sir John Gell, and from his own determined band of followers at Warwick Castle. Within a short space of the city, the noble republican halted, drew up his forces, and addressed them in a solemn exhortation. He avowed his purpose to destroy that stronghold of popery and superstition, the Cathedral; whose richly decorated arches and clustering spires, rising high above the fortifications and fair prebendal dwellings in the Close, presented a prospect calculated to win admiration and reverence from sectarian

prejudice itself. Long shouts of applause followed the announcement. He then lifted up his voice in prayer, desiring that God would by some special token manifest his approbation of their design. Afterwards, the whole army joined in singing the 149th Psalm. The concluding verse,—

> "To execute on them the doom
> That written was before;
> This honour all the saints shall have:
> Praise ye the Lord, therefore,—"

was still sounding through the ranks, when, the word being given, they marched forward upon the town. Lichfield had no exterior defence, except its feeble gates, which at once giving way before the cannon of the parliamentarians they took possession of the town; driving before them into the Close the Lord Chesterfield, who had brought in a small party the day before from Bretby, with such of the citizens as were disposed to take part with the garrison, or to throw themselves into the consecrated fortress for protection. The following day began the siege of Lichfield Close; an occurrence memorable in the annals of that pleasant city, and not without special interest, as a link in the great chain of similar events which then, like the connected explosions of a thunder-clap, were bursting out, successively or simultaneously, in every quarter of England.

The Close was separated from the town by a broad moat, or pool, traversed by two causeways, which offered the only means of access on that side. The

available defences of the fortress had been prepared, with some care, to resist an attack. "Mounds had been thrown up between the cathedral and the moat; the old houses had been pierced with loopholes and embrasures; and the bastions of the south gate and the battlements of the Lady Chapel had been lined with musketeers and marksmen, who were protected partly by the battlements, partly by woolsacks carried up to the roofs of the buildings for that purpose. Some of the long iron guns, called 'drakes,' had also been mounted on the great central tower of the Cathedral."

The besiegers having brought up their artillery as near as they could, opened their fire briskly upon the fortress. It was returned with spirit. Though unequal in numbers and military resources to the task they had undertaken, and impeded in their operations by the crowds of people, herds of cattle, and various property deposited for safety in the enclosure, the garrison entered on their defence with great courage and determination. "Under cover of their guns, they made a vigorous sally from the south gate, and captured a large piece of ordnance; but were overpowered by numbers, and obliged to draw off again into the Close without their prize, and content themselves with annoying the besiegers by their fire from the battlements." A group who had taken possession of the top of the centre tower of the Cathedral, immediately under the great spire, caused great annoyance to the assailants, by being enabled, from their elevated position, to fire over the breastwork upon the gunners.

One of this little party was a son of Sir Richard Dyott, a gentleman of property and consideration in the town; who, though deaf and dumb, entered with the utmost animation into the royalist cause, and from his uncommon skill as a marksman was able to serve it, on this occasion, by a singular exploit.

Lord Brooke had taken up his quarters in a house near the spot where his battery was placed. This nobleman was accustomed to pray aloud in public, even in the presence of his chaplain. He this day intended to storm the Close: he had therefore performed his devotions with more than usual fervour, desiring a sign from heaven to mark the divine approbation of his enterprise, and wishing that if the cause he was engaged in were not the righteous cause, he might presently be cut off; if it were, that his eyes might witness the ruin of that proud edifice, as the prelude to the destruction of all the other cathedrals in the land. Shortly after the utterance of this fanatical petition, the party in the centre tower perceived a distinguished person issue from one of the houses, with some attendants, and advance as if to give orders to the gunners. He wore a complete suit of plated steel armour; a tall plume, springing from a chaplet of laurel, nodded in his shining helmet. This warlike figure pointed upwards to the spire,—he raised his visor, as if to descry more plainly the object against which he seemed to be commanding the soldiers to direct their fire. At that instant the keen-eyed Dyott discharged his fowling-piece; and Lord Brooke fell dead, pierced by the bullet in his brain.

The cry of triumph, that rang from roof to roof, and was quickly taken up by the multitude in the Close below, and the answering silence of consternation without, were both prolonged through England. The energy, integrity, and determined zeal of Lord Brooke were universally known: every royalist, therefore, rejoiced in the destruction of an irreconcilable foe to the church and crown: every parliamentarian lamented his fallen champion, and vowed revenge. The furious animosity displayed by this brave but unhappy young nobleman against the ecclesiastical government, with the peculiar circumstances of his death, not unnaturally, in that age, gave rise to the opinion that his fall was a judgment of heaven. He himself, indeed, while ostentatiously defying such superstitious conclusions, in reality gave countenance to them: for he had chosen the day on which he fell, for the assault, as being that of the saint to whom the Cathedral was dedicated, from contempt for his supposed tutelary power. The particulars which, at the time, lent currency to such an opinion, are thus quaintly brought together in a letter of the period, printed by Mr. Gresley; to whose arrangement of the incidents, in *The Siege of Lichfield Close*, we are indebted in this part of our narrative. "That enemy to our church," says the contemporary writer, "was slain in his quarrel against our church, by the God of our church, with a shot out of the Cathedral, by a bullet made of church lead, through the mouth which reviled our church" (*mouth* for *eye*, a modest adjustment of facts to the theory): "and," continues he, "(if this be worth your reading),

this cathedral being dedicated to an old holy Saxon man, called Ceadda (commonly Chad), the blow of death came from St. Chad's church upon St. Chad's day."

Brief, however, was the respite to Lichfield. Sir John Gell had brought over from Derby, where he commanded for the parliament, to reinforce Lord Brooke, a party of his "good, stout, fighting men; but the most licentious, ungovernable wretches, that belonged to the parliament." The remainder of that day passed in sorrow and inaction. Before day-break, however, the next morning, the besiegers, enraged by the loss of their noble leader, assaulted the fortress on both sides at once; but were repulsed with great bravery; and in a sortie from the western gate many of them were slain or drowned in the moat, and several made prisoners. In his attack, Sir John Gell's men made good their claim to the unfavourable character which the memorials of the time have handed down, by the dastardly contrivance of lining their files of soldiers, while advancing, with the helpless relatives and dependants of the besiegers, who remained in the town; thereby rendering it impossible for them to return the fire of their assailants. That day nothing further was attempted; but on the third, the intrepid little garrison found themselves attacked from a new quarter. Gell, having received a reinforcement of artillery from Coventry, including a terrible mortar "to shoot grenadoes," planted his guns, amounting now to a very considerable battery, in the gardens along the side of the pool. From this point their fire was directed with

deadly effect upon the buildings in the Close, now thronged with the best families in the neighbourhood, upon the Close itself, and upon the Cathedral, the peculiar object of animosity to the assailants. The great spire had been seriously injured on the first day of the siege; and a shot now carrying away a portion of the tower beneath, it fell down suddenly through the roof into the choir, only a few minutes after the clergy had concluded the afternoon services, and retired to the equally becoming employment of tending the wounded in the nave. The following morning, March 5th, the enemy still "proceeding with all imaginable vigour in their attacks upon the Close, and having thrown over many grenadoes, and being ready to blow up the wall," farther resistance was deemed hopeless, and the garrison surrendered, on condition of quarter to all persons in the place. Lord Chesterfield, his son, and other gentlemen of distinction, were among the prisoners; and the plate and money, the arms, ammunition, and horses, fell into the hands of the victors.

Blame has been cast on Lord Chesterfield for so early a surrender; and it is probable that an effort would have been made to hold out some time longer, had the distressed garrison known that relief was nigh at hand. The Earl of Northampton, whom the king had left in Banbury, was already on his march, with a strong party of horse and dragoons, to relieve Lichfield; when, hearing of its fall, and that some of the royalists in the vicinity had taken refuge in Stafford, he threw himself into the latter town.

In the brief military career of this gallant nobleman we find an illustration of the fact, that war, even in its most deplorable form, as it now raged through our country, is not an unmixed evil. Independently of those great results which a war of principle may ultimately secure, the horrors of a great contest—of a civil contest, perhaps, more than any other—are in some degree mitigated in the view of humanity, by the opportunities its progress may open for the developement of personal as well as national energies. Families hitherto obscure or insignificant, throw out, through the fissures caused by such political earthquakes, shoots of genius and virtue, which else had never struggled into the light. Individuals, sunk in luxury and sloth by the security of a passionless and protracted peace, start from their slumber; with new-strung vigour snatch from their ancestral walls the armour of their forefathers; and, by being roused as men, to battle with men, for a possession dear to all mankind, renew their nobility in something nobler than the name: or else, it may be, perish by such an honourable fall as every generous nature would prefer to the long lethargy of corrupting enjoyment.

Not till some few months before his death did the world, or himself, become acquainted with half the virtues of the Earl of Northampton. During the long period of ease and luxury which preceded, he partook largely of "that license which was then thought necessary to great fortunes." But, "when the blast of war blew in his ears," the earl, like so many others, became a new man. Before the king's standard was set up,

his neighbour, Lord Brooke, had found him, in some encounters that occurred between them, more than a match for himself in courage, promptitude, and zeal.

We will not wrong at once the noble historian of the Rebellion, and this gallant subject of his pen, by farther varying from the original draught of the character of Northampton. "As soon as an army was to be raised, he levied, with the first, upon his own charge, a troop of horse, and a regiment of foot, and (not like some other men, who warily distributed their family to both sides, one son to serve the king, whilst his father, or another son, engaged as far for the parliament) entirely dedicated all his children to the quarrel, having four sons officers under him; and, from the time he submitted himself to the profession of a soldier, no man more punctual upon command, no man more diligent and vigilant in duty. All distresses he bore like a common man, and all wants and hardnesses as if he had never known plenty or ease; most prodigal of his person to danger; and he would often say, that if he outlived these wars, he was certain never to have so noble a death."

Knowing himself in no condition to cope with the earl, Sir John Gell retired towards Nantwich, and formed a junction with Sir William Brewerton, who advanced from that place to meet him. The two knights then fell back with their joint forces, numbering about three thousand horse and foot, with a good train of artillery, upon Stafford. Northampton had notice of their approach; and instantly marched out to meet them, with less than a thousand men

expecting to find only Sir John Gell, whose numbers he knew, and for whose courage he had some contempt.

When the earl came within view of the enemy, who were drawn up to receive him on Hopton Heath, two miles from Stafford, he at once perceived his mistake. But his resolution to engage them did not change. The heath was spacious, and appeared well adapted to the movements of cavalry; he saw, likewise, that his great inferiority lay in his foot. The parliamentarian horse were posted in two bodies, in front of the infantry. He charged the more advanced body, and dispersed them; the second likewise, with such complete success that scarcely a horse of theirs remained on the field. At the same time eight pieces of cannon were captured by the royalists. Dear, however, was the cost of the victory. The earl's cavalry, pursuing their advantage with that rashness and precipitation, of which Prince Rupert had set the example, threw themselves among the ranks of the enemy's foot. While thus engaged, his horse was killed under him, and he found himself alone on the ground, surrounded by furious enemies. The colonel of the regiment, among whose ranks he fell, advancing to encounter him, the men drew back, only to see their commander fall, slain by the earl. The enraged soldiers now closed round the gallant nobleman, striking at him on all sides. One of them, with his heavy matchlock, smote off his helm. They now — such was their own report — offered him quarter; which, it was said, he refused, exclaiming that he scorned to take

quarter at the base hands of rebels. A ruffian halberdier then dashed his weapon into his brain behind, and he fell covered with wounds. Sir Thomas Byron, colonel of the prince's regiment, now followed up the impression made by his commander, in a successful charge upon the infantry of the parliamentarians. But the victory that day was turned into mourning. "They who had all the ensigns of victory but their general, thought themselves undone; while the other side, who escaped in the night, and made a hard shift to carry his dead body with them, hardly believed they were losers." They refused to give it up on any other terms than the restitution of all their prisoners, cannon, and ammunition; they even, with what a writer not apt to censure that party with severity terms an "incredible baseness," denied to the filial piety of the young earl (who, with two of his brothers, had charged by his father's side at Hopton Heath) permission to send surgeons to embalm the mangled remains.

In less than a month the walls of Lichfield Cathedral—objects, during that period, of the ruthless violence, and witnesses to the insolent profaneness, of the puritan soldiers—once again echoed to the roar of the besiegers' cannon. Prince Rupert, with a strong body of horse and seven hundred foot, marched from Oxford to recover that singular fortress to the king; and being joined by some of the troops which had lately been victorious under the Earl of Northampton, entered the town on the 8th of April, without opposition, and immediately laid siege to the Close. It was now strongly garrisoned, commanded by a resolute

officer, and supplied with every thing necessary to a protracted resistance. For several days the fire of the royalist batteries made no impression. The prince now opened a mine under the walls; it was met by a counter-mine on the side of the besiegers: the hostile parties met, and fought with fury, in the bowels of the earth. A second mine was sprung, in a place where the besieged were least prepared for it. A tower, with a party of the defenders in it, was blown up; and a breach of twenty feet in width being made in the walls, the prince assaulted it with his whole available force, but was ultimately forced to retire with the loss of many officers and men. A second time he prepared for the assault; when the garrison, knowing that the king's orders to his highness were to grant them honourable terms, surrendered, and marched out the following day, under a convoy, to Coventry. Prince Rupert left a powerful garrison in Lichfield, and committed the government of it to Colonel Bagot. Then directing his army to follow him with all possible expedition, he immediately hastened off, with only a few attendants, to rejoin his majesty.

CHAPTER VIII.

QUEEN HENRIETTA.

A MODERN historian, speaking of the lively consort of Charles I., styles her "that pernicious woman;" Warburton is severe even to rancour, in his strictures upon her conduct: in short, poor Henrietta is exposed to nearly equal censures from both friend and foe of her husband. The daughter of Henri IV. was, it is true, the most unfit of princesses to be, in that age, queen of England. The English disliked her country, despised her manners, and abhorred her religion,—all of which appeared to herself perfection. Her numerous foreign attendants; the spies who lurked about her in the guise of ambassadors; the evil counsellors who enjoyed her unlimited confidence under the character of chaplains and confessors, did unspeakable mischief to the royal cause. Their insolent behaviour was among the most palpable means of disgusting the people, of inflaming the misunderstandings between the court and the country, and hence, of hurrying on the nation into the vortex of civil war. Charles, while he had an extreme contempt for all those parties, was fretted so much by

nothing else as by their impertinences, and proved both by the manner in which he at length freed himself from the annoyance; yet the people, instead of pitying him, believed him to be in league with his tormentors. He was tender of his consort's honour, and intent on what he deemed her happiness; but the moral English nation visited this virtuous behaviour as a crime, because the fair object of it was a daughter of France, and a bigoted Roman Catholic. He was as firm and enlightened a foe to her religion, as any in his dominions; but she was his wife; she was known to have great influence over the monarch, and to use it unsparingly: — could he, whatever were his professions, be, in heart, less than a papist? Finally, the parliament, as if at once to direct against her the full measure of the popular dislike, rewarded the most commendable action of her life by impeaching her of high treason! — But we are anticipating the course of events.

Before the queen's departure from England, in the spring of 1642, it had become obvious to both parties, though both were far from making the avowal, that the sword must ultimately decide their differences. At that time, however, Charles had not the means of raising a single regiment. The great object of Henrietta was, therefore, to strengthen her husband's interest in Holland, whither she had retired; and, in particular, to procure arms and ammunition, to be transported to England as his necessities might require. Her activity and address surmounted the repugnance which was naturally felt by the States

(with whose assertion of their freedom England had warmly sympathized), to favour any design which might impede the struggles of the English in winning their own. It was to little purpose that the parliament sent over an ambassador armed with declarations and remonstrances, to desire at least a complete neutrality. The States affected compliance; but the queen's preparations went on as before. It was chiefly owing to her exertions, that Charles had been enabled to bring an army into the field. She had repeatedly sent him arms and ammunition, and, what he equally wanted, officers of experience, to train and discipline his forces. At length, after a year's absence from England, she herself sailed, with a convoy of four vessels supplied by her son-in-law, the Prince of Orange; eluded the vigilance of Batten, the parliament's vice-admiral, who had received orders to intercept her; and landed safely at Burlington, in Yorkshire on the 22nd day of February, 1643.

The Earl of Newcastle, with a detachment of those forces, which, on account of the favour he was in with her majesty, and because they had, from time to time, been reinforced by her means, was styled by the parliament, "the Queen's army of Papists," had drawn toward the coast, for the purpose of conducting her to York. Designing, however, to rest a day or two from the fatigues and anxieties of the voyage, she took up her residence in a house on the quay. The second night Batten arrived, unperceived, with his fleet, anchored in the road, and, enraged at his disappointment, exposed the

adventurous princess to a new danger, by an outrage the particulars of which are preserved in her own spirited narrative. "About five of the clock in the morning, the ships began to ply us so fast with their ordnance that they made us all rise out of our beds and leave the village. One of them did me the favour to flank upon the house where I lay, and before I was out of my bed the cannon bullets whistled so loud about me, that all the company pressed me earnestly to go out of the house, their cannon having totally beaten down all the neighbour houses, and two cannon bullets falling from the top to the bottom of the house where I was; so that, clothed as well as in haste I could be, I went on foot some little distance out of the town, under the shelter of a ditch, like that of Newmarket, whither before I could get, the cannon bullets fell thick about us, and a servant was killed within seventy paces of me. We in the end gained the ditch, and stayed there two hours, whilst their cannon played all the while on us. The bullets flew, for the most part, over our heads; some few only grazing on the ditch, covered us with earth, &c., till the ebbing of the tide, and the threats of the Holland admiral, put an end to that danger." Information of these particulars was sent to the parliament, and the Lords voted an order to the Earl of Warwick to inquire into their truth; but no further notice was taken of the outrage. On the contrary, it was for this act of romantic obedience to the sentiments of the heart and the laws of society, that the Queen of England was charged by the Commons

G. Cattermole.

R. Wallis

The Queen at Burlington.

with the crime of high treason. The impeachment was, as uusal, carried up to the bar of the house of Lords by Pym; and this odious attempt was the last effort, in his peculiar province, of the now failing patriot. Could the statesman, who thus sacrificed all other considerations at the shrine of a daring policy, be indeed the same, who, really in the great contest for the Petition of Right, and ostensibly in the prosecution of Strafford, contended for freedom, the blessing which both enables men to enjoy, and teaches them to venerate, the great moral duties of mankind; and for law, and that imprescriptible justice, which is its fathomless source?

The displeasure of the parliament was so far justified, that the arrival of the queen certainly imparted a new impulse to the king's affairs, and contributed in no small degree to the successful issue of the ensuing campaign. It was the signal for fresh exertions among his adherents; and supplied a point for the discussion of new projects, and the diffusion of a more general spirit of loyalty. The balanced successes of that noble commander, and his able opponents, the Fairfaxes, father and son, which had so long devastated the northern counties without any decisive result, now preponderated in favour of the royal cause. Sir Hugh Cholmondeley, who had served the parliament with great courage and vigour against the earl, attracted by the new aspect of affairs, or yielding to the contagion of chivalrous feeling, offered his allegiance to the queen; delivered up the castle of Scarborough; and received again the command of that fortress

for the king. Proposals to raise a party for Charles in Scotland were earnestly made to her majesty by Montrose, but defeated, for the present, by the craft, or prudence of Hamilton. Even Sir John Hotham seemed not indisposed to admit Henrietta within the fortress whose gates he had formerly closed against her royal lord; and it was one of the charges on the trial of his unfortunate son, that he had suffered the royal convoy to pass unmolested from Burlington to York.

Four months the queen, in the enjoyment of the sunny prospects thus opened before her, held her court in the capital of the northern counties; her ambition taking delight in the exercise of an independent power, and the affability and liveliness of her manner imparting it to all around her. Immediately after her landing, she had forwarded a part of her supply of arms and ammunition under a strong convoy to the king; but to have pursued her journey towards him at that time, would have been to throw herself into the power of her enraged enemies.

CHAPTER IX.

THE TREATY—HYDE.

Winter was approaching when King Charles entered Oxford, intending to fix his court, for a season, with the Muses; whose charms, had peace and leisure waited on his steps in life, few princes could have better appreciated than himself. The boiling blood of Rupert, however, was impatient of a day's inaction. From his head-quarters at Abingdon, the prince made many successful incursions with his cavaliers into the adjacent counties, each time approaching near to the capital. In one of these expeditions he attempted Reading; where the parliament had placed a garrison, under the command of the fantastic republican Henry Marten. At sight of Prince Rupert and his fiery cuirassiers, governor and garrison precipitately abandoned the town; and such were the accounts of the terror and disaffection in and near the capital, which the prince received from the inhabitants, that he prevailed on Charles, always too ready to give way to the views of those about him, to advance with his army towards London.

The parliament were now seriously alarmed. They

ordered Essex to bring up his army to the metropolis; and, by a vote of thanks for the victory at Edge-hill, and a present of 5000*l.*, engaged him to pursue the war with activity and decision. They proposed to invite the Scotch to their assistance; resolved to raise another army, to be placed under the command of the Earl of Warwick; and ordered that all apprentices who would enlist, should have the period for which they served reckoned towards their freedom. For the means of carrying on the war with increased energy, they applied, as usual, to the city, and levied assessments by oppressive and arbitrary methods; declaring it legal, not only to sieze the goods of those who refused to contribute one-twentieth part of their estates, but also to imprison their persons, and expel their families from the metropolis and its vicinity. They hastily voted a petition to the king for peace; but while their commissioners were attending at Colnbrook to present it, hostile movements were, on both sides, renewed. The general received orders to draw his army westward from the city; the military were commanded, under the strictest penalties, to repair instantly to their colours; and a committee of both houses was sent to encourage the citizens to renewed resolutions "of defending and maintaining their liberties and religion with their lives and fortunes."

Essex advanced toward Brentford, and occupied that town with Hollis's regiment. There Prince Rupert, with some troops of horse and several pieces of artillery, fell suddenly upon them, intending, it was said, to cut his way through to London; when Hamp-

den's and another regiment coming to the rescue, a more equal contest followed. After repeated charges on both sides, in which great numbers were slain, and many prisoners taken, the parliament's forces were driven from the town, and it was taken possession of by the king. But reinforcements were sent in, from all quarters, to the earl. "Bands and regiments of armed men sprung up in succession, as if out of the earth," says a patriotic writer. An effectual appeal was made to the trained bands to march out, and protect their municipal wealth, and household hearths, from the avidity and license of the cavaliers. These substantial troops were led on by the brave but coarse Skippon; who, passing from company to company, cheered his unfleshed battalions with familiar talk; "and the soldiers," observes Whitelocke, "seemed to be more taken with it than with a set, formal oration." Essex's army consisted of full 24,000 "stout, gallant, proper men, as well habited and armed as were ever seen." The general, however, was averse to engage; the "old soldiers of fortune," whose pacific advice coincided with his own inclinations, averred that it was honour and safety enough to stop the march of the king. Hampden, mortified by this coldness, proposed to march a body of men to Hounslow, and cut off Charles's retreat, while the main army assailed him in front. This was agreed to; but they had not proceeded a mile when they were recalled. For one whole day the army stood drawn up on the side of Turnham Green; while its columns were confronted, on the opposite side, by those of the king. At length

a movement appeared in the royalist ranks. On this, two or three hundred lookers-on from the city turned their horses' bridles, and galloped homewards, followed by some of the soldiers. It was the king preparing to quit the field. Either for want of ammunition, or because he dreaded the discredit of interposing farther difficulties to the proposed treaty, Charles had resolved on a retreat. The citizen-soldiers now directed a fierce attack—upon the provisions, the wines, and tobacco, which their wives and daughters had forwarded to them in abundance, from the markets and cellars of the city; and confidence and hilarity once more prevailed in the parliamentarian ranks. The king, in the meantime, marched, by Colnbrook, to Reading; where he left a garrison of 3000 men under the command of Sir Arthur Aston, and presently re-entered his winter quarters at Oxford.

From many parts, a loud cry was now heard for peace. The city of London, by an order of common council, presented a petition to that effect to the houses of parliament; in which was enclosed another to the king. The parliament rejected that addressed to themselves, but voted that the petition to the king should be presented. By the advice of the houses, a deputation from the common council proceeded with it to Oxford. When a passage of this document was read in which the petitioners earnestly besought his majesty "to return to his parliament, accompanied with his royal, not his martial, attendance," engaging "to preserve his majesty and the two houses from all tumults," Charles smiled: "You seem to me," he

said, "gentlemen, to promise more than you are able to perform; for I hear you cannot maintain peace and quiet among yourselves." He promised, however, to give a full answer, which he desired should be read out publicly in the city of London.

The largest confluence of liverymen ever remembered, met on this occasion. A committee of both houses were present. The petition was first read, and was received with such tumultuous applause, that the gentleman by whom the king had sent his answer, alarmed at the cries of the citizens, sought to evade the reading of it, alleging, in excuse, the weakness of his voice. The assembly insisted; and the abashed messenger was required to read it a second time, from a place where he could be better heard. This time a small party of royalists attempted to raise a shout; but finding none to second them, desisted. Lord Manchester then addressed the hall. He was followed by Pym, "that worthy member of the house of Commons, and patriot of his country" (as the reporter styles him), in a speech containing the usual evidences of his mental vigour and unbending repugnancy to the king. "At the end of every period, the applause was so great, that he was fain to rest till silence was again made." The concluding "words were no sooner uttered, but the citizens, with one joint harmony of minds and voices, gave such an acclamation as would have drowned all the former; which, after a long continuance, resolved itself into this more articulate and distinct cry: 'We will live and die with the parliament! We will live and die with the parliament!'"

Such was the report of one of their thorough-going admirers. But the people were weary of the burdens laid upon them to support the parliament's army; the citizens also began to feel the effect of an interruption of trade, and dreaded, besides, another visit from Rupert and his cavaliers. Giving way to these dispositions without, to the demands of the Lords, and of a powerful minority in their own house, the leaders of the Commons consented to discuss propositions for a treaty. Their adoption of this vote is supposed to have been obtained partly by the eloquence of Sir Benjamin Rudyard, who failed not to appear on the scene as often as the warning voice of wisdom and humanity might be expected, in some momentary calm of the passionate elements, to find attention.

"We have already," said that true patriot, "tasted the bitter, bloody fruits of war: if we persist, there will be such a confluence of mischiefs break in upon us as, I am afraid, will ruin the king, the kingdom, the nation. I have long and thoughtfully expected that the cup of trembling, which has gone round about us to other nations, would at length come in amongst us: it is now come at last, and we may have to drink the dregs of it, which God avert! There is yet some comfort left that our miseries are not likely to last long, for we cannot fight here as they do in Germany; in that vast continent where, although there be war in some parts of it, yet there are many other remote quiet places for trade and tillage. We must fight as in a cock-pit; we are surrounded by the sea. We

have no stronger holds than our own skulls and our own ribs to keep out enemies; so that the whole kingdom will quickly be but one flame.

"It hath been said in this house," he continued, "that we are bound in conscience to punish the shedding of innocent blood; but who shall be answerable for all the innocent blood which shall be spilt hereafter if we do not endeavour a peace, by a speedy treaty? Certainly God is as much to be trusted in a treaty as in a war. It is he that gives wisdom to treat, as well as courage to fight, and success to both, as it pleases him. Blood is a crying sin, it pollutes a land: why should we defile this land any longer?"

Early in March, 1643, the Earl of Northumberland, with four members of the Commons' house,—Pierrepoint, Armyn, Holland, and Whitelock, commissioners appointed by the parliament to treat of a pacification, proceeded to the king at Oxford. Lord Say had also been named, as a second commissioner on the part of the Lords; but Charles excepted against his lordship, as being one of those individuals whom he had publicly proclaimed traitors, some months before. Charles had his residence in Christ Church. It was in the gardens of that noble college, where he daily walked, accompanied by the prince and the lords of his court, that the commissioners first had access to him. They were most favourably received; and their intercourse with the court was, throughout, distinguished by a tone of mutual frankness and honour. The Earl of Northumberland displayed, in his style of

living, unusual splendour; his plate, his furniture, his wine, and other provisions, were all sent from his house in London. The lords and gentlemen of the court appeared often at the earl's table; the king himself condescended to accept from him some presents for his own. On the other hand, the commissioners had unrestricted approach to his majesty, and were allowed all possible freedom of discourse.

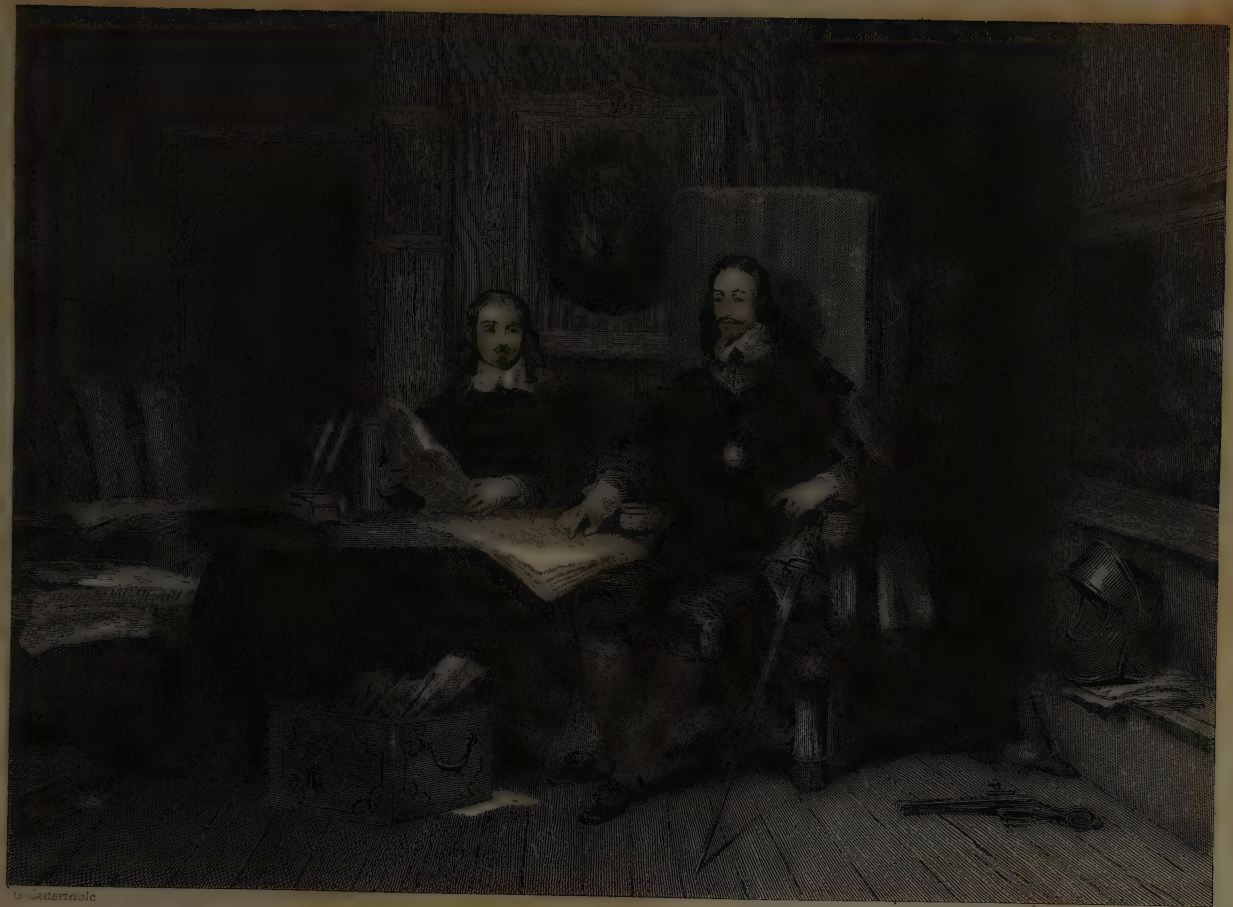
In fact, it was a part of their instructions to treat with no one but the king in person. That Charles, on his part, was competent to the task laid upon him, is thus testified by one of the commissioners. "In this treaty the king manifested his great parts and abilities, strength of reason, and quickness of apprehension, with much patience in hearing what was objected against him; wherein he allowed all freedom, and would himself sum up the arguments, and give a most clear judgment upon them. The lords of the council never debated any thing with the commissioners, but gave their opinions to the king in those things which he demanded of them, and sometimes would put the king in mind of some particular things; but otherwise they did not speak." But the hands of the commissioners were absolutely tied. Their instructions did not so much as leave to their discretion the interpretation of a doubtful phrase. "I am sorry," observed Charles, when this was explained to him, "that you have no more trust reposed in you: the parliament might as well have sent their demands to me by the common carrier,

as by commissioners so restrained." The proposals brought by them were substantially the same which were embodied in the "nineteen propositions," and had already been rejected before a sword was drawn: abolition of episcopacy, and command of the militia to remain with the parliament. But before coming to the conditions of peace, they were to treat about a cessation of arms. To finish the whole treaty, only twenty days were allowed. Six they might employ on the cessation; and then, whether that point were determined or not, they were to enter upon the terms of pacification. If these were not concluded before the end of the twenty days, the whole negotiation was to cease, and they were to return to the parliament.

The most valuable servant King Charles ever had was Edward Hyde, lord chancellor after the Restoration; and author of the admirable, though extremely imperfect, *History of the Rebellion.* It was to Hyde that Charles was indebted for that information respecting the plans and movements of his opponents, by which, during the appalling interval that followed his return from Scotland, he was enabled, in some degree, to counteract their efforts. It was he who, with the aid of his accomplished friend Falkland, composed those eloquent public manifestoes which were poured forth so profusely, and with such effect, in the king's name. The sense they entertained of the value of Hyde's exertions, in these and other points, the parliament marked by naming him with ten others, in their instructions to the Earl of Essex, as incapable of being ever admitted

to pardon. But Hyde had no official station at court: his appointment to one, at the time of the treaty, furnishes no unpleasing court anecdote. When the commissioners came to Oxford, some one of their company brought a copy of a letter of the king's to the queen, which had been intercepted by the parliament, and printed. In this letter he adverted to a promise which he had given her, on the eve of her departure for Holland, not to dispose of places at court without her advice; but excepting from that promise the offices of state, and such other changes as the urgency of his affairs might require to be made without delay. In particular, he observed, "I must make Hyde secretary of state; for the truth is, I can trust nobody else." The next morning when Hyde, as was his custom, joined the king in his walk, Charles inquired if he had seen his letter to the queen, which had been intercepted and printed. Hyde answered, he had not. Charles gave it him to read; and, after he had read it, said, "I wish it were as much in my power to make every one else amends as I can you. I am resolved, this afternoon, to swear you secretary of state." Hyde refused the secretaryship, but was made chancellor of the exchequer. He would, at all events, have had a share in the treaty, as the king's secret adviser; he now took his place also at the board, in his official character as a member of the privy council.

Owing as well to the restrictions on the commissioners, in consequence of which every proposal or demand which arose had to be referred to the parlia-



C. Catternole

J. T. Willmore.

Charles I. King and Hyde at Exeter.

ment, and debated by both houses, as to the real indifference of both the parliament and the king to the success of the negotiations, no progress was made. The period fixed for the committee's return was nearly expired, and only two articles, viz. the first demand on either side, had yet been brought into discussion. The commissioners were not to blame. They were governed, upon the whole, by just and honourable views; and so earnestly desired the success of their labours, that, perceiving the insuperable difficulties which surrounded them, while they complied in all their public proceedings with the letter of their instructions, they nevertheless privately intimated to the king, that if he would submit to some sacrifices, they might possibly find means to obtain a corresponding concession on the other side. The Church was the point on which, beyond all others, Charles was inflexible. Would he, in order to secure it, surrender the command of the militia—an advantage which the parliament deemed indispensable to their security? The discussion of this point had been, on one occasion, protracted till midnight. The committee indulged a belief that the king had been won over; but at so late an hour they would not ask his written consent. It was agreed to defer it to the morning. Morning came; and the eager commissioners made their appearance earlier than usual. But the king's mind was changed. He had been prevailed on, during the night, to prepare a totally different answer. The disappointed commissioners now suggested, that if Northumberland were restored to

the office of Lord High Admiral, which Charles had taken from him in consequence of his having appointed Warwick to the command of the fleet, that nobleman's influence might be found available to soften the obstinacy of his opponents. But Charles was stung with the ingratitude of the earl; whom, to use his own words, he "had ever sought to live with as his friend, and courted as his mistress." The eloquent importunity of Hyde and Falkland was of no avail: the king would merely promise, that he might one day restore Northumberland's commission, when he had performed some such service as should atone for the past. Still Charles desired that the negotiations should proceed, and proposed a prolongation of the term. The parliament refused; at the same time instructing their commissioners to press his majesty to name a day for disbanding the armies, and to return to his parliament. He replied, that when the command of his revenue, magazines, ships, and forts, should be restored to him; when all the members of the two houses, with the exception of the bishops, should be allowed to return to their seats, as they held them at the opening of the parliament; and when the houses should be secured from tumultuary assemblies, which could only be done by adjournment to some place twenty miles distant from London,—he would consent to the immediate disbanding of the armies, and return to his parliament. No answer was returned to these proposals; but on the 19th day, the commissioners received peremptory orders to quit Oxford the next morning. They

obeyed; and from that time all communication between that city and London was interdicted by the parliament.

Clarendon assigns as the true cause of Charles's haughty refusal of all concession, the famous promise to the queen, that he would neither give away any office nor consent to a peace except by her mediation. The noble historian likewise asserts, that at her landing she wrote to Oxford, expressing apprehension on the subject of the treaty; and that the king's motive for desiring a prolongation of the treaty was, that she might have time to reach Oxford before its conclusion. But we have seen that he did not regard the first part of this promise as binding, in the sense commonly understood; and of the other (if it ever were made), the most rational and probable interpretation seems to be that of Lingard. "As far as I can judge," writes that historian, "it only meant that whenever he made peace, he would put her forward as mediatrix; to the end that, since she had been calumniated as being the cause of the rupture between him and his people, she might also have, in the eyes of the public, the merit of effecting the reconciliation." The truth is, the wound had long become immedicable. The faults of both the leading parties in the nation — perhaps, the sins of the nation itself — demanded, at the hand of a corrective Providence, the excision of the "ulcerous part" by the sword; and peace was impossible till one of them had fallen. War was renewed amidst the mournful apprehensions of the good and wise, who clearly saw that, whichsoever side should now prevail, the liberty

as well as the prosperity of the country must inevitably suffer.

On the very day the commissioners returned to London, the Earl of Essex quitted it; and, rejoining his army, laid siege to Reading.

CHAPTER X

HAMPDEN.

The parliament passed the winter in devising schemes for raising money to carry on the war. The assessments were rigidly enforced; the estates of delinquents and the lands of the church were sequestered; an excise was, for the first time in our country, imposed on a great number of commodities. Neither these designs, nor their efforts to recruit the army, were for a moment relaxed during the negotiations at Oxford. The army of Essex when he sat down before Reading on the 17th of April, was the finest that had yet been seen in this unhappy war. It consisted of about 16,000 foot and about 3000 horse, all well armed, and abundantly supplied with every thing necessary for the siege. Under the command of Sir Arthur Aston, there were few short of 4000 excellent troops; but he had very little ammunition; and the slight defences of the town were not capable of being long maintained against a powerful enemy. Essex resolved to reduce it by the cautious method of approach. The indefatigable Skippon, to whom

the operations were committed, had already planted his batteries within less than musket-shot of the outworks, in doing which the besiegers succeeded in beating back the garrison in several sorties; when Hampden, whose influence in the army was now of nearly equal weight with the authority of the lord-general, impatient any longer to wait the issue of that dilatory procedure, determined to attempt the walls by assault. Advancing silently from the trenches with 400 picked men, seconded by Colonel Hurry, he passed the ditches in the grey twilight of the morning, and, mounting the rampart, seized upon the northernmost bastion. They met with a brave resistance, and were driven back. Hampden, calling forward his reserves, immediately placed himself at the head of a second attack; and, again struggling up the well-defended walls, renewed the fight. The governor had previosuly been disabled by a shot. Colonel Fielding, who had supplied his place, now brought forward the main strength of the garrison, and a bloody conflict ensued. 'Both leaders fought, hand to hand, on the ramparts, each at the head of his party. Overpowered by the numbers and determined valour of the royalists, Hampden was on the point of once more retiring, when Hurry, by a sudden movement, threw himself between the royalists and the town. The inhabitants, ill-affected to the royal cause, at once ceased firing; and, after a severe struggle, a parley was demanded by Fielding, and a truce followed.

Meantime the king, who had no intention to retain

the permanent occupation of Reading, reluctantly advanced to its relief, with some divisions of his army hastily drawn together; designing only to force one of the besieger's quarters, and withdraw the garrison. But Essex had drawn the principal strength of his army to the west side of the town, towards Oxford. On that side there was no pass, except over Caversham Bridge. To protect that place, a body of the parliamentary troops was posted: against which the king, understanding them to consist of only two regiments,—the Lord Robert's and Colonel Berkeley's—detached two of his own, the green and the red, commanded by General Ruthen in person. The parliamentarians, however, were immediately supported by strong reinforcements. The skirmish that followed was sanguinary; and the royalist troops suffering severely, and perceiving no movement attempted from the town, retired, in the end, to their main body. In the night came Fielding to the king, and assured him that neither could he, on his part, hold out the town, nor would the small force which Charles had brought suffice to raise the siege; but that if the king agreed to his surrendering, good terms might be granted. Charles, who only desired to secure the safety of his troops, consented. The next morning, the town was given up on honourable conditions; the garrison joined the army at Wallingford; and the king once more retired to Oxford. Essex lingered in the neighbourhood of Reading. There his army was wasted with disease and desertion; and his counsels, at the same time, thwarted both by his great masters in Westminster, and by dissatisfied officers in the camp.

Six weeks Essex lay at Reading. It was in this interval the famous Waller plot was discovered. This plot was a design on the part of some royalist politicians in London to satisfy the general desire for peace, and for the prevention of farther and direr calamities to the country, by forcibly promoting an accommodation between the king and the parliament. Its results were the expulsion from the House of Commons, the fining, and banishment of the principal conspirator, the execution of two of his friends, and a great accession of strength to the war faction. Again Pym was the safeguard of his party;—the genius who laid open their dangers, the thunderer who struck down their foes. With his usual happy blending of adroitness and force—the great secret of popular influence—he so told the tale of his great discovery to the citizens, as effectually to scatter to the winds the dull ashes which had been gathering, of late, upon their zeal. He introduced an oath against similar designs; an engagement nominally optional, but in reality imposed on every member of the Peers and Commons, on the army, and on all citizens. After a terrible preamble, asserting that "there has been, and now is on foot in this kingdom, a popish and traitorous plot for the subversion of the true protestant religion, &c., in pursuance whereof a popish army hath been raised, and is now on foot in various parts of the kingdom," the subscribers bound themselves never to lay down arms so long as the papists now carrying on war should be protected from the justice of the parliament; and never to adhere to, or willingly assist, the forces raised by the king, without the consent of both houses. "The popish plot and popish

army," observes a modern historian, "were fictions of their own to madden the passions of their adherents."

At length the parliamentarian general, being enabled to advance, fixed his head-quarters at Thame. And now occurred one of the most eventful actions of the war.

Hurry, a Scotch mercenary, bred in the German wars, had led the attack on Reading, under Hampden; and had before done good service for the parliament at Edge-hill, and under Waller. Having, from discontent with his employers, thrown up his commission of colonel of horse in their army, this man came over to Oxford, and offered to Prince Rupert to lead an expedition against an exposed quarter of the enemy. Knowing Hurry to be an able officer, receiving good assurance of his sincerity in the cause he had adopted, and aware of his thorough acquaintance with the habits and condition of the army he had left, Rupert accepted his proposals, put himself at the head of a powerful body of cavaliers, and, late in the evening, marched out of Oxford, under the guidance of the renegade. At Postcombe, the expedition came unexpectedly upon a regiment of dragoons, and killed, or took them prisoners to a man. At Chinnor, a second regiment was annihilated, and the place itself set on fire. The party then marched back upon Oxford, intending to fall in with a body of infantry, which Rupert had ordered out to meet them by the pass at Chiselhampton Bridge, the point where he would have to recross the river.

The army lay in Hampden's country, where every "dingle and bosky bourne" was familiar to him from

childhood. Sagacious, and dissatisfied with his excellency's arrangements, the Buckinghamshire gentleman, now a veteran colonel, for in his year's service he had, by day, seldom quitted the saddle, or allowed his sword to rest in its scabbard,—had already perceived, and had pointed out to Essex, the exposed condition of his lines. That night he lay at Watlington, where the alarm of Rupert's irruption quickly roused him. Instantly he despatched the only trooper that attended him, to the lord-general, to recommend his moving a competent force upon the pass at Chiselhampton; and, at the same moment, a body of the parliament's horse, consisting of Sheffield and Cross's troops coming up, he volunteered to put himself at their head, and by attacking the prince's rear-guard to impede his retreat and give time for Essex to draw out his troops towards the river. "Whereupon the officers and soldiers freely consented, and shewed much cheerfulness that they could have the honour to be led by so noble a captain." By this time, being joined by Colonel Dalbier and several other officers, they amounted to a body of horse not greatly inferior to Rupert's.

The prince, meantime, hastened on through Tetsworth, his rear constantly threatened by the pursuing party. On Chalgrove Field, from which a lane led down to the bridge of Chiselhampton, he fell in with his infantry. This spot, made famous that day in English history, was then, and still is, an uninclosed plain, of several hundred acres. Here, among the green corn which covered it, Rupert drew up his forces in order of battle; directing the party who guarded

his prisoners and booty to move forward to the bridge. The parliamentarians now came fiercely on, in three bodies. Tired and harassed as his men were with a march of twenty miles, and frequent skirmishing, Rupert resolved, notwithstanding, to anticipate the attack. The first body which reached the ground was led by Colonel Gunter; it consisted of several troops of horse and dragoons, and bore down upon his right wing. Rupert charged; and the long rapiers of his life-guards did terrible execution. Gunter's party, though at once reinforced by the troops of Colonel Neale and General Percy, gave way and fled, leaving their commander dead upon the field. At this juncture, Hampden arriving eagerly advanced to rally the broken squadrons. Essex, too, was at hand with his main body. Hampden, relates Lord Nugent, at once put himself at the head of the attack: but in the first charge he received his death-wound. He was struck in the shoulder with two carbine bullets, which, breaking the bone, entered his body, and his arm fell powerless and shattered by his side. Sheffield, who charged with him, was severely wounded, and fell into the hands of the enemy. Sir Samuel Luke was three times made prisoner. Buller, a captain under Sir Philip Stapleton, received a shot in the neck, and was also taken: in no fight, hitherto, had the parliament lost so many soldiers of name. Overwhelmed by numbers, their best officers killed or taken, their great leader and the hope of their cause retiring in a dying condition from the field, and the day absolutely lost,—the forces of the parliament gave way and fled towards

Essex's now unavailing squadrons. Rupert, though not able to pursue, made good his retreat across the river; and about noon entered Oxford, with near two hundred prisoners, seven cornets of horse, and four ensigns of foot, bringing back most of the men who had marched out with him: some officers had been taken prisoners, but none killed.

The first accounts of this eventful day, published by the parliamentarians, spoke with confidence of their great champion's recovery: "his wound was more likely to be a badge of honour than any danger of life." But these hopes were quickly dissipated. On moving from the scene of conflict, Hampden was first observed to make for the house of a relation in the neighbourhood. But Rupert's cavalry were covering the plain between. Turning his horse, therefore, he rode back in the way to Thame. When he came to a brook which divides the plain, he paused a while; but it being impossible for him, in his wounded state, to remount, if he had alighted to turn his horse over, he suddenly summoned his strength, clapped spurs, and cleared the leap. Through such particulars the recent biographer of this eminent person naturally delights to carry his reader. But what must have been Hampden's thoughts, as he crossed the field of his youthful remembrances, staining the green blades that glittered in the sun of a bright morn of May with no ignoble blood? There he had first practised his confiding neighbours, and his admiring tenants and serving-men, in the use of those pikes which they were to level at the crown and the mitres of England; and there the

avenging ball of the royalist had shivered his vigorous right arm! The cause was, to all appearance, declining:—the army weakened, and commanded by a cold and vacillating partisan; the enemy victorious, and every day gathering new strength; the parliament rapidly losing the confidence of the people; Pym, his great fellow-champion, lying on his death-bed—the most sentient nerve of Freedom, the toughest sinew in the whole body of Rebellion, shrivelling like a parched scroll! Yet, could he have looked further, and with prophetic eyes beheld Naseby — Carisbrook — Whitehall defiled with the blood of a king, and the residence of an usurper, more appalling would have been that contemplation of its triumph. Where would he have discovered the laws which he had vindicated — the Liberty, at whose shrine he had sacrificed so much, besides what was his own — or even a free field for that sly but strong ambition, which, more, it may be, than he was himself aware, directed the movements of his life? In great pain, and nearly exhausted, Hampden reached Thame. The surgeons who dressed his wounds encouraged his grieving fellow-patriots and brothers-in-arms with hopes of recovery; but his own impression from the first was, that his hurt was mortal. It was too true an one. After six days of intense suffering, Hampden breathed his last.

The prosperous appearance of Charles's affairs, and the contrast exhibited in the depressed condition of the parliament's, became more obvious after the occurrence of this event. So reduced was Essex's army by sickness, defeat, and destitution, that he no longer deemed

it safe to remain in the vicinity of his restless enemies. Yet the difficulties which surrounded the cause of the patriots had not the effect of relaxing their determined tone. When Charles, feeling himself fully prepared to meet any forces which his opponents could call into the field, once more sent a message for peace, intimating that the calamities which would follow a renewal of hostilities between the main armies would, if they obstinately refused all accommodation, be solely chargeable on them, the houses answered merely by committing the messenger to prison; and with a view to close the door against all farther attempts at negotiation, the Commons carried up to the Lords the impeachment of the queen, already mentioned. The king replied to this insult by a declaration, that the two houses at Westminster were no longer a real and free parliament; and forbade his subjects to obey their ordinances. The houses, on their side, resolve to impart legal warranty to their acts, by making a new great seal; appoint an assembly of divines to consult in affairs of religion; vote the despatch of a second embassy for advice and assistance into Scotland; and, finding much inconvenience from the "multitudes of scandalous books, pamphlets, and papers," with which the whole country swarmed, pass an ordinance to restrain "the liberty of the press!"

CHAPTER XI.

THE ROYALISTS VICTORIOUS.

HITHERTO Essex was treated with external respect; but his popularity, both in and out of parliament, was rivalled by more active and decided, though less important, chiefs. Hampden, indeed, could no longer dispute his laurels; but Fairfax and his father in the north, and Cromwell in the east, were already more stirring names in the ears of the patriots. The favourite general of parliament and people, however, was Sir William Waller.

Waller had served abroad, and, on his return to his own country, obtained an office under the crown. But having engaged in an indiscreet quarrel which brought him under the severe notice of the Star Chamber, and his resentment being quickened by the puritan zeal of his wife, he went over to the patriots; and was among the first who took out commissions to raise troops for the parliament. The cautious temper of Essex served as a foil to the rapidity and irregular daring of the general of the horse; and while the impatience of eager partisans sickened at the dull and indecisive movements of the grand army, they followed

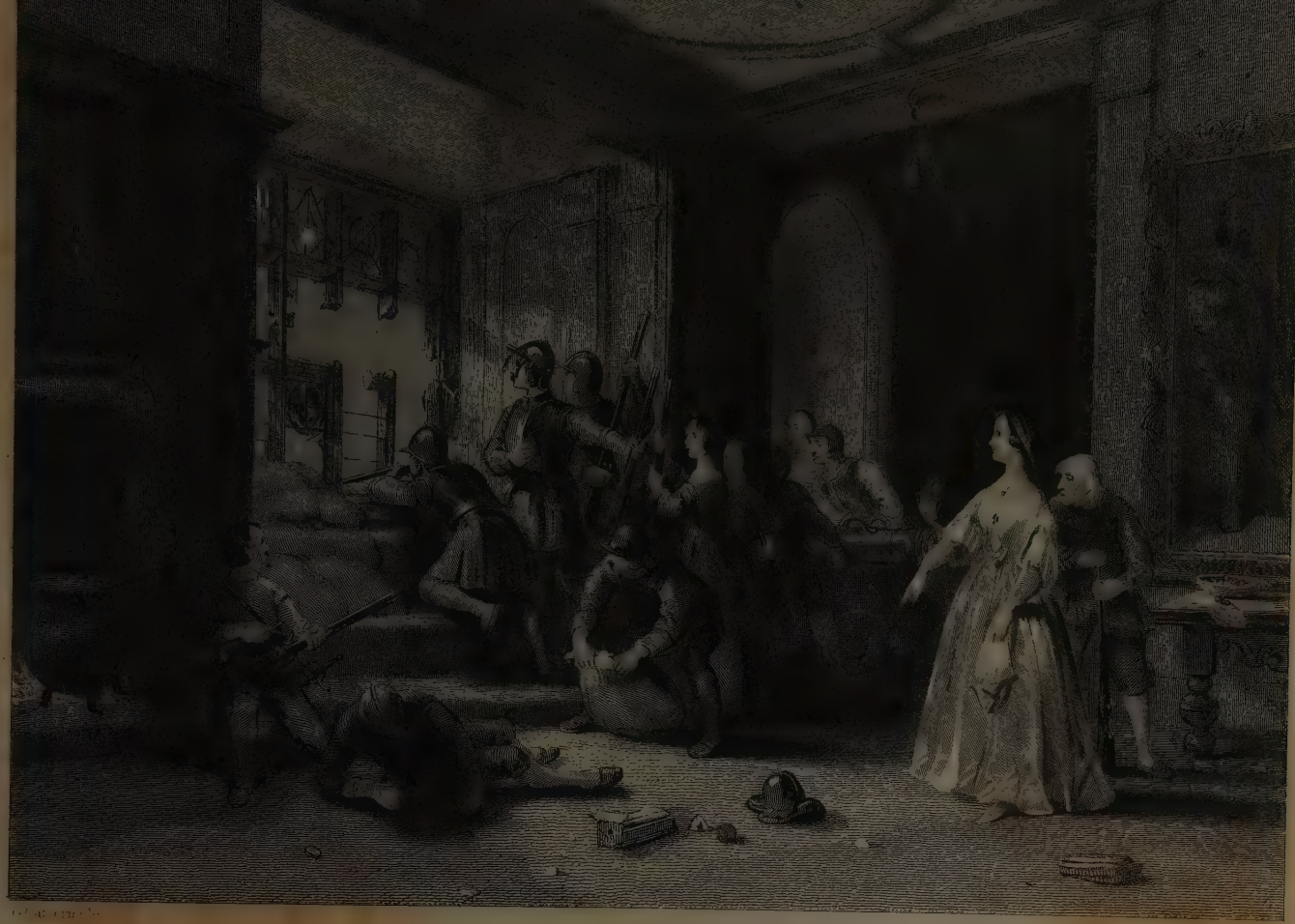
with exultation the meteoric flashing of the sword of Waller. His successes at Portsmouth and Chichester, at the close of 1642, have been referred to already. About the same time, he recovered Winchester for the parliament. Shortly afterwards, Lord Herbert of Ragland having raised a large body of troops for the king, Waller detached himself from Essex's army, dashed through Wiltshire, and surprised and took the whole prisoners, under the walls of Gloucester. Hereford, Tewkesbury, Chepstow, Monmouth, successively received his victorious bands. From Worcester he was repulsed; but, avoiding the more numerous forces of Prince Maurice, who had been sent by the Marquess of Hertford to intercept him, he led his party safe back; and rejoined Essex, with a dazzling reputation, which was acknowledged in the quaint appellation, popularly given him of William the Conqueror.

But the conquests of Waller only interrupted the growth of the royalists' strength in the west, as the arrow cuts the air, which, behind it, closes again. The towns he had entered immediately re-opened their gates to the enemy; for he left in them no garrisons. These hasty successes, however, determined the parliament to make an attempt, by sending out an expedition under his command, to maintain their waning influence in those parts; while Essex, who was unable to obtain for his diminished forces such supplies of clothing and ammunition as would enable them once more to take the field, had yet the mortification to see an army of 8000 men prepared, on a liberal and effective scale, for his rival.

At the time when Waller was marching out of London, the Marquess of Hertford, with Prince Maurice, effected a junction, on the borders of Devonshire and Somersetshire, with the Cornish men, victorious from the fight at Stratton, in their own county, who had advanced to meet them, under the command of the brave and virtuous Hopton. The king's army, hearing that Waller was already at Bath, marched through Wells to give them battle. Waller drew out his forces on Lansdown Hill; from whence, on the approach of the enemy, he dispatched Haslerigg, with his famous regiment of cuirassiers, to charge their horse. At first, the cavaliers, who, till now, had charged the cavalry of the parliament with contempt, gave ground, in some dismay, before this novel armament; but, on being brought a second time to the charge, they completely routed, and chased them to the foot of the hill. The summit of Lansdown Hill was crested with breastworks, which were mounted with cannon, and flanked on each side by a wood lined with musketeers; the reserves of the parliament's horse and foot being drawn up behind. Unappalled by this disadvantage, the valiant Cornish men modestly asked permission "to fetch off those cannon." The ascent in that spot was deemed inaccessible; but order to attempt it being, after some hesitation, given, Sir Bevil Grenvil charged fiercely up with his dauntless Britons; drove the whole body from their ground; and the king's troops took quiet possession of it. The two shattered armies now faced each other on level ground, neither shewing any dis-

position to renew the fight; "so that exchanging only some shot from their ordnance, they looked upon one another till the night interposed." About midnight Waller silently withdrew into Bath; and when day appeared the royalists found themselves in possession of the field, some arms and ammunition, and the dead. Those who fell, on the royalist side, were chiefly officers and gentlemen; among them, Sir Bevil Grenvil, "whose loss," observes Clarendon, "would have clouded any victory. He was indeed," the historian continues, "an excellent person; whose activity, and reputation, were the foundation of what had been done in Cornwall; and his temper and affections so public, that no accident which happened could make any impressions in him," unfavourable to the royal cause. "In a word, a brighter courage, and a gentler disposition, were never married together to make the most cheerful and innocent conversation." The Lord Arundel of Wardour was carried off the field severely wounded, and died soon afterwards at Oxford; having just survived long enough to be made acquainted with the surrender of his beautiful fortress to the forces of the parliament, after a short but spirited resistance by his heroic lady.

Waller's army was rather dispersed than materially weakened. Collecting, therefore, his scattered squadrons, and being reinforced from Bristol and the adjoining counties, he pursued the royalists, who had marched towards Devizes, engaging their rear-guard in skirmishes, till they entered the town. The same night, the Prince and the Marquess marched out



with the horse to Oxford, leaving Hopton shut up in Devizes with the infantry; where it was hoped they might be able to defend themselves, for a few days, till relief should be brought. The next morning Waller assaulted the town with horse, foot, and cannon; but was repulsed. Having intercepted a party marching in with powder and shot, of which he knew the besieged were in extreme need, he thought it a fair opportunity to propose high terms of surrender. Hopton consented to a cessation of á few hours; when, his soldiers having obtained a little rest, and found means to supply their immediate want of ammunition, both sides again fell to their arms. Waller had resolved on a general assault; he had even written to the parliament that "their work was done, and by the next post he would send the number and rank of his prisoners;" when the startling news was brought, that Lord Wilmot had been sent from Oxford with a large body of horse to raise the siege, and was already within a few miles of the town. Instantly, the parliamentarian general drew off "without drum or trumpet," to Roundway Down, an open space, two miles towards Oxford, over which the king's forces must pass; where he ranged his columns very advantageously, in order of battle; the besieged wondering what the sudden silence around them imported, for they could not believe that, in two days, relief could be at hand.

Waller, seeing the royalists less numerous than he expected, from pure contempt threw away the advantage of his position; and, putting Haslerigg and

his cuirassiers in front, advanced with his cavalry alone to the attack. So well was the onset of that hitherto invincible regiment met, on the other side, by Sir John Byron, that they were forced back in full career upon the main body of the parliament's horse. There, for a moment, they rallied; when Wilmot made such an effectual charge upon the whole body, defeating it division after division, that it was entirely routed and dispersed, and not a trooper remained in sight upon the Down. Still the foot stood firm; but, by this time, the Cornish regiments making their appearance from the town, and Wilmot, who had got possession of their ordnance, turning it upon themselves, they also broke their ranks, and fled in every direction. All the cannon, arms, and ammunition, colours, and baggage of Waller, with 900 prisoners, fell into the victors' hands. On the side of the parliament, the slain amounted to 600: the king's army lost few common men, and only one soldier of rank. Sir William Waller, Sir Arthur Haslerigg (who had received several wounds), Colonels Strode and Popham, and other commanders, took refuge in Bristol, whither their arrival brought the first news of that disastrous fight. This was a terrible blow for the garrison of that city, a great part of whose strength had been lost in the defeat; but worse apprehensions assailed them, when, ten days later, on the 22d of July, two hosts sat down before their walls—Prince Rupert, with his Oxford forces, on the Gloucestershire side; the Marquess of Hertford and Prince Maurice, with the victorious Cornish army, on the side of Somersetshire.

The first step taken by the royalists was to seize on the ships in the harbour; in which were many persons of consideration, who had prepared to avoid the horrors of the siege, by escaping, with their families and treasure, to London. The next was to determine on the method of attack. Rupert's opinion, according with his hot and impatient temper, that it should be by storm, ultimately prevailed. The garrison of Bristol consisted of about 2500 infantry and a regiment of dragoons. The town had a line of fortifications drawn entirely round it. At daybreak on the 24th day of July, the besieged beheld from their walls, on either side of the town, at the same moment, their enemies advancing to the assault, in three separate divisions. Each division was crowded with officers, eager for the glory, and disdainful of the danger, of seizing so important a prize. On the west side, the middle division was led by Sir Nicholas Slanning and Sir John Trevannion, "the life and soul of the Cornish regiments." The second, on the right, was brought up by Colonel Buck, and Colonel Bernard Ashley, who commanded Hertford's own regiment. Sir Thomas Basset, major-general of the Cornish regiments, advanced with the third division, on the left. The moat in this part was deep, the lines well flanked, and the ground level and exposed; over which the divisions now poured at once, though provided with hardly any other means of assault besides their ordinary weapons and determined courage. They filled the moat, and some of them mounted the wall; but the defenders behaved like men of the same mould with their assailants.

Seeing Buck precipitated from the rampart to perish in the foss; the noble friends, Slanning and Trevannion, also fallen together; and useless slaughter mowing down their ranks in all directions — the besiegers, on this side, quickly retired in disorder from their bootless attempt.

The attack was made on Rupert's side, under more favourable auspices; for here the ditch was shallow, the walls low and weak, and the ground rocky and uneven. His three divisions were conducted by the virtuous and pious Lord Grandison, by Colonel John Bellasis, and Colonel Washington. Of these officers, the first two were quickly wounded,—Grandison mortally. Meantime, Washington, who headed the centre division, surmounting the outworks, effects a breach in the wall, enters the line, and is followed by Rupert with a party of his horse and a body of the Cornish foot, who had come round to retrieve their honour on this side; the besieged retreating before them through the suburbs, or assailing them from the houses. Having reached the gate of the city, with the loss of several other officers, and many men, they prepare for a second, and, apparently, no less difficult assault, on that barrier, before they can enter; when the governor, Nathaniel Fiennes, demands a parley. Hostages are given, a treaty commenced; and evening closes the events of a sanguinary day, by the surrender of the second English city to the arms of its sovereign.

Nor was this prosperous condition of the king's affairs confined to the west. The chivalry of the Earl of Newcastle had by this time reduced the whole

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J. Varrall.

north, as far as York, and driven the scattered adherents of the parliament to take refuge in the strong fortress of Hull. By placing a garrison at Newark, the earl had cut off the communication between Fairfax and the parliamentary forces which were overrunning Lincolnshire. He had already penetrated into the latter county. A light army of horse and dragoons, levied by General Charles Cavendish, younger brother of the Earl of Devonshire, had bravely assaulted and taken the parliament's garrison at Grantham, with above 300 prisoners, all their officers, arms, and ammunition.

Early in June, the perils of a southward march being now lessened, the queen set out from York to join her husband at Oxford, escorted by a large body of horse and foot, under the command of Cavendish. That gallant young nobleman attended her as far as Burton-upon-Trent; through which town he opened a passage for her by storming it across the river, which he swam, at the head of his troops. Here the queen and Cavendish parted; to their mutual regret, if we may judge from the language of Henrietta, in her letter, written at the time, to the king. That lively despatch thus describes the amount and arrangements of her convoy. "I carry with me," she writes, "3000 foot, 30 companies of horse and dragoons, six pieces of cannon, and two mortars. Harry Jermyn commands the forces which go with me, as colonel of my guard; Sir Alexander Lesly, the foot under him; Gerard, the horse; and Robin Legge, the artillery: her she-majesty generallissimo, and an extremely

diligent one, with 150 waggons of baggage to govern in case of a battle. Have a care that Essex's troops incommode us not; for I hope that for the rest we shall be strong enough." With Cavendish she left, for securing Lincolnshire and Nottinghamshire, 2000 foot, with arms for 500 more, and twenty troops of horse.

All these forces properly belonged to Newcastle's army. The earl was, about this time, farther weakened by the capture of Goring, and his garrison, at Wakefield. Still prosperity attended his operations. At Atherton Moor, near Bradford, he gained a great victory over Fairfax, in which 700 of the parliament's troops were slain, and 300 made prisoners; on so considerable a scale was that northern, and, mostly, least-noted, branch of the great contest conducted! Fairfax fled to the stronghold at Hull; while Newcastle marched forward into Lincolnshire, and laid siege to Gainsborough, which the Lord Willoughby of Parham had seized for the parliament.

It was in a skirmish near Gainsborough, that the first military exploit occurred by which Cromwell made his name a familiar word throughout England. Enough, indeed, had already been seen of his character, to enable discerning observers to perceive that it embodied, in a shape of prodigious but coarse energy, the spirit of the age,—its serious eloquence, running, in him, into affected mysticalness and heavy verbiage: its steady valour, changed to calculating fierceness; its intense religious affections, perverted to stern fanaticism. Into the deep focus of his strong and ambitious mind

Cromwell had gathered those characteristics; and now sought to send them forth again, in a form moulded by his will, and made subservient to his designs. He saw around, and felt no less convincingly within himself, that the age of loyalty was gone; and that religion, as a social and political force, was to supply the place of loyalty: but religion, uninformed and unregulated by the church, and therefore (such will ever be the case, when it is thrown wholly upon individual feeling) taking the characteristics of fanaticism; — religion tortured, at least in words, to every vulgar appliance, and hence often no more than the cloak of the hypocrite. These were the elements that composed this extraordinary person; and to this model he effectually moulded his instruments. Collecting about him a band, from those classes among whom, in every age, such dispositions most readily meet, and in whom the thirst of freedom is generated by a sense of independence, — the sturdy yeoman, the easy, thriftful, conceited burgher, he wrought them, by the master-power of his energy and genius, into an engine, which he doubted not, — and he was not deceived, — would effectually resist, and finally explode, the dreaded chivalry of the cavaliers, animated as it was by the lingering breath of fealty in the nobles, and by piety, if by little else, in the sovereign. These stout-hearted associates he armed, mounted, trained, and disciplined, himself. He was their comrade, as well as their chief; associating with them at all seasons, and in all moods, he could lay by the part of the drill-serjeant and, equally for their behoof, assume the office of the preacher.

Crafty and stringent was the creed he taught them. The gospel as exhibited in puritanism, liberty as exemplified in the parliament, constituted the cause of God. The king had allied himself with popery and malignancy: to fight against him, while fettered by those fiendish confederates, was to fight, not for themselves, not for their families and country, only, but for God and Truth. Should they conquer, they would be glorious and happy; should they fall, it was good to forfeit life in such a cause! Faith grew, as confidence increased, with increasing strength. Here was the germ of a military and religious despotism. From this little fulcrum was launched the power which, finally, scattered all that remained of church and parliament, including the first instigators of the war themselves; frighted this great nation into submissive, dumb despair; and

> "hewed the throne
> Down to a block!"

Cromwell, in his march to relieve the garrison at Gainsborough, at the head of his Huntingdonshire troopers, joined with some regiments from Lincolnshire and Nottingham, fell in with the first division of Newcastle's army, under the command of young Cavendish. The royalists were first perceived on the summit of an acclivity; towards which when Cromwell advanced, he found his progress impeded by a fence, running along at the foot of the hill, with only one narrow opening. Through this passage he deliberately filed his men, while exposed to the fire of

the enemy; and then led them on to the top of the eminence. Here a large body of the royalists charged them; but, meeting with such resistance as that army had never before encountered, were borne down, after a short but determined fight with swords and pistols, and fell back upon their reserve of cavalry. Cavendish, unable to rally his main body, now put himself at the head of the reserve, fell upon and put to flight the Lincoln and Nottingham troops; but was, in his turn, attacked, in his rear, by Cromwell, who by this time had formed his men afresh. The onset was fierce and unexpected; and Cavendish's troops giving way before it, were forced into a marsh, at the foot of the acclivity, where, unable either to fight or to fly, they were savagely butchered, with their chivalrous commander, by the Huntingdonshire troopers. It was fruitless bloodshed; for the army now making its appearance, Cromwell brought off his men, and retreated into the town; from thence falling back to Lincoln; which also he abandoned at the approach of the royalists, and took refuge in Boston.

Cavendish was among the most lamented victims of this deplorable contest. When his body was brought to Newark, where he had commanded, the people would not suffer it to be interred, till for some days they had feasted their eyes with the sight of it, "and embalmed it with their tears." Even at the distance of many years, when the remains were removed to Derby, fresh lamentations were made by those who had known him, and by others who had been taught from infancy to revere his name; and the whole town, as one man, expressed the

most sorrowful unwillingness to part with the reliques of so dear a person, who had been the ornament and defence of that place."

Another striking incident occurred, in connexion with the occupation of Gainsborough. At its first capture by the parliament's forces, several persons of rank were made prisoners; in particular, the Earl of Kingston. This nobleman was one of those moderate persons, who, like Falkland and Rudyard, bitterly deprecated the war: it is related by the anecdotists of the time, that being urged to declare himself for either parliament or king, he uttered a passionate wish that, whenever he took part with either against the other, a cannon ball might divide his body between them. When Lord Willoughby understood that the Earl of Newcastle was advancing against the town, he sent away his noble prisoner, in a pinnace, to Hull. The vessel was fired at on the passage, by the royalist troops; and though she got clear, the good Earl of Kingston, as he was called, perished from a cannon shot, divided—so say the admirers of fatalism—in precise accordance with his imprecation.

By this time, the queen had pursued her journey southward; the towns yielding at her approach, and the nobility and gentry flocking to her standard. At Stratford-on-Avon she was met by Rupert; and Charles, having received information of her advance to the borders of Oxfordshire, proceeded with his sons to give her welcome. The joy of the meeting was enhanced by two most pleasing circumstances:—it occurred in the same field, under the height of Edge-hill, where, a few months before, Charles had valiantly fought his first battle; and hardly

was the first embrace, endeared by long separation, much suffering, and mutual peril, over, when a breathless messenger broke in upon the royal pair, with the news of the great victory gained that day at Roundway Down. Their entry into Oxford was a triumph.

The effects of Stratton, of Lansdown, of Roundway Down, and of Bristol, were now felt, in all directions. Exeter was surrendered to Prince Maurice, by the Earl of Stamford. Dorchester, Portland, Weymouth, submitted to the brave Earl of Carnarvon. Barnstaple and Bideford yielded to Colonel Digby. Taunton, Bridgewater, and Bath had likewise, by this time, opened their gates to the forces of the king. The prosperity of the royal cause amazed Charles's adversaries: it equally surprised his friends. Gloucester excepted, all the inland parts of the west had now returned to their allegiance. The north, from Berwick to Newark, was for the king. And now the chivalry of Newcastle was striking through the grand association of the east, the largest and compactest surface on which the parliamentarian interest moved. But, what seemed of more importance, this prosperous condition of the king's affairs was the means of daily bringing over converts to his cause. Beneath the royal banner, the timid now began to think there was the most safety; the selfish, that there was most to gain; the idolaters of power, that there the object of their worship was the most worthy of it; the lovers of peace, that by throwing themselves and their fortunes into that descending scale, they might soonest obtain their benevolent desires.

CHAPTER XII.

THE CRISIS OF THE WAR.

The war-party in the parliament were not men to despair. But on the news of the last of the great successes of the king's armies, the victory at Atherton Moor, reaching them, they determined on an expedient, which nothing but the present failure of all other resources could have led them to adopt. The nation had seen so much of the Scots, in their two recent inroads into the south, and in the conduct of their commissioners, that not even the popular sympathy on the score of religion, nor the gratitude of the party for their services against the king, could prevent a revival of the ancient hostile prejudice against that people. An intelligent Scotchman, writing from London in June, complains bitterly of the contempt and ill-usage which his countrymen met with. In fact, Hurry's revolt, which led to the defeat at Chalgrave Field, and to the death of Hampden, originated in just discontent with the treatment of the Scots by the parliamentarians. "The name of a Scot," observes the letter-writer alluded to, "is grown as odious amongst the Londoners, as the

name of Satan is to the soul of a saint: yet," he adds, "they are still longing and praying for our help." Such was the fact: notwithstanding this prevalent dislike, no other expedient appearing to promise safety in the present terrible crisis, it was resolved, at a conference of the two houses, instantly to send a committee for aid from Scotland. The patriots were enabled to obtain the consent of the Lords to this proposal, in consequence of the offence taken by them at the declaration, recently received from Oxford, denying the legality of the parliament. But the measure was unpopular. Only a few days earlier, the Lords had passed a solemn protestation of loyalty to the king, and prepared a petition for peace. A letter arrived at this very juncture, from the Earl of Essex, describing his want of means to carry on the war, and advising the parliament to send propositions to the king for such a peace as would secure the religion, the laws, and liberties of the nation. No member of the house of Peers could, therefore, be induced personally to engage in the proposed mission to Scotland. The Lord Grey of Werke, their speaker, hitherto the unflinching agent of his party, refused; and was committed to the Tower for contempt. The Earl of Rutland was then named: but eluded the employment on pretence of ill health. At length, it was resolved to send only members of the Commons; and on the 20th of July the committee, consisting of Sir Henry Vane and Sir William Armyn, with two other members, and Marshall and Nye, the one a presbyterian, the other an independent minister, were dismissed

from London by sea, it being impossible to reach Edinburgh by land, except through the quarters of the Earl of Newcastle.

On Vane, the projectors of the scheme wholly depended for success. As the bearing of this measure upon the events which followed was in a high degree important, it will be proper to show the state of opinion in the parliament, with respect to the great question it involved, and the difficulties with which its authors had to contend. For this purpose, we shall transfer a paragraph from the recent *Life of Vane*, by Mr. Forster.

"The Scots," observes that spirited advocate of the parliament, "were known to be bigoted to their own persuasions of narrow and exclusive church government, while the greatest men of the English parliament had proclaimed the sacred maxim, that every man who worshipped God according to the dictates of his conscience was entitled to the protection of the state. But these men, Vane, Cromwell, Marten, and St. John, though the difficulties of the common cause had brought them into the acknowledged position of leaders and directors of affairs, were in a minority of the house of Commons; and the party who were their superiors in number were as bigoted to the most exclusive principles of presbyterianism as the Scots themselves. Denzil Hollis stood at the head of this inferior class of patriots; Glyn, the recorder of London, and Maynard, were among its ablest supporters. Waller and Massey in the army, Sir Philip Stapleton and Sir John Clotworthy, ranged themselves

under the same banners. The most eminent of the parliamentary nobility, particularly Northumberland, Essex, and Manchester, belonged also to this body; while the London clergy, and the metropolis itself, were almost entirely presbyterian. These things considered, there was indeed great reason to apprehend that this party, backed by the Scots, and supported with a Scottish army, would be strong enough to overpower the advocates of free conscience, and set up a tyranny, not less to be deplored than that of Laud and his hierarchy, which had proved one of the main occasions of bringing on the war. Yet, opposing to all this danger only their own high purposes and dauntless courage, the smaller party of more consummate statesmen were the first to propose the embassy to Scotland."

Leaving, then, Vane to his tedious voyage of twenty days from London to Leith, and to the deep and difficult part afterwards, which none, like him, could play; let us glance at the equally critical and perplexed position in which his colleagues in the capital were placed, after his departure.

Every day brought an account of some fresh skirmish, in which the royalists were victorious; or some application to parliament, for relief from the hardships which pressed upon their armies. Waller, after having departed from London, a few weeks before, with a fine army, and in so confident a temper that in every town upon his route he left orders for the reception of his prisoners, had re-entered the capital a solitary fugitive. Essex also was returned to Kingston, with his troops in

so broken and destitute a condition, that he himself declared they were not worthy the name of an army. He, at the same time, demanded redress for his own injured honour: his troops had been defrauded of credit and supplies, for the benefit of another army; yet the very parties by whose misconduct that army had been ruined, and the west lost to the parliament, had aspersed the general-in-chief as the author of these reverses. At the moment when these ill-timed dissensions occurred, came forth a new and more gracious declaration from the king. A door of pacification seemed again thrown open. On the 4th of August, the Lords seized the occasion to desire a conference with the other house; in which they submitted some propositions for a treaty, of a more moderate tenour than any yet brought forward. They proposed the immediate disbanding of both armies; that the members who had been expelled for absence should be recalled; that all questions relating to the church and the militia should be reserved for future consideration,—the first in a synod of divines, the others in parliament. The moderation of these articles was terrible to the men of root and branch. The prospect they held out of accommodation was, to the last degree, alarming. Pym was now far gone in that sickness which shortly after laid his slumbering body in the grave; but the dying lion roused up at the danger which threatened the darling object of his life's struggles, Republican Liberty. A hot debate ensued upon the conference; at ten at night it was resolved, by a majority of twenty-nine voices (ninety-six to

sixty-five—the house, at that time, could muster no more!), to adopt the propositions. This was on Saturday. "Unparalleled efforts" were to be made. The next day all the pulpits resounded with prophecies of destruction to the city, if a peace were now offered to the king; the citizens were exhorted to rise, as one man, and come down, the next morning, to the house of Commons. Twenty thousand Irish rebels, it was averred, were landed, and on their march to London. Inflammatory placards were stuck up, and printed papers scattered abroad, with a celerity and effect never imagined until the war of pamphlets and libels, which, from the beginning of this distracted period, kept pace with the nobler strife of the senate and the field. Pennington, lord mayor of London, assembled a common council, the same evening, at Guildhall; in which was passed a petition to the Commons against any accommodation. In the morning a deputation of citizens made their appearance before the Commons with the petition, and, annexed to it, a draft of an ordinance, empowering a committee to raise means for a vigorous prosecution of the war. An immense concourse of people, brought together for that purpose, demanded, with cries that penetrated through both houses, a favourable answer to their prayer. The Lords sent to acquaint the Commons, that they had resolved on an adjournment till the tumults were put down: the Commons took no notice of this intimation, but thanked the petitioners for their zeal and attachment.

The propositions were again brought forward, in

the midst of great disorder and excitement; and after a very long debate, a division being called for, the tellers counted eighty votes for sending them to the king, and seventy-nine against that proposition. A fearful uproar followed the announcement of the numbers. The Pyms, Vanes, and St. Johns, loudly insisted on a second division. Some terrified members escaped in the confusion; for now the last vote was found to be reversed by a majority of seven!

The next morning a counter-petition was brought from the City,—not by the men, for the recent execution of the associates of Waller had taught the male population to be cautious; but by the women. Two or three thousand of that sex, wearing white ribands, the emblem of peace, in their hats, came with their petition to the door of the house of Commons. It was received, read, and an answer returned; though not, in the former instance of a ladies' petition, by the leader of the Commons, or in equally favourable terms. The petitioners, not satisfied with the answer, remained about the house. By noon, their numbers were nearly doubled. Some men in women's clothes now appeared in the throng, and, mounting to the door, set up a shout of "Peace! Peace!" The guard, a party of the City trained bands, endeavoured to repulse these troublesome suitors; and, having succeeded in clearing the stairs, fired their muskets, loaded with powder only, to fright them away. But this merely increased the violence of the mob: "Give us," they exclaimed, "the traitors who will have no peace, that we may tear them to pieces! Give us the dog Pym!"

On this a troop of horse was ordered forward, who dispersed them with great cruelty: "killing some three or four women," as Baillie alleges, "hurting some, and imprisoning many."

Immense exertions were now made by the patriots to confirm their hard-won victory. The greater part of the members of the assembly of divines, which had now commenced its sittings, visited, by order of the parliament, their respected parishes, for the purpose of stimulating the people to new efforts in the cause. Waller, who, notwithstanding his total defeat, had been received on his return "as if he had brought the king prisoner with him," was appointed commander-in-chief of the militia and defences of London, and preparations were made for enabling him again to take the field. An ordinance was passed for an army to be put under the command of the Earl of Manchester; and another, empowering the committees in the counties to press soldiers, gunners, and surgeons. Having given the lord-general this practical intimation, that they did not depend on his excellency alone for the conduct of the war, they next plied every artifice to fix him in their interests, and to urge him to exertions worthy of himself and of the common cause. Pym, Say, and St. John (it was Pym's last public labour), visited the camp, as a committee of the two houses. They assured Essex of the cordial support and confidence of the parliament; asserted that ingratitude was the reward with which Charles acknowledged the services of his ablest generals; and hinted that he nourished peculiar feelings of resentment against the

earl. Essex now as plainly indicated a want of intellectual firmness, in the readiness of his convictions, as, by his wavering conduct, he had before done of the strength of his conscientiousness. Pym, by his dexterous arguments and insinuations, wholly changed him, and wrought him to that resolved temper which he afterwards continued to retain. In three days, he said, he would begin his march to meet the king; and at twelve o'clock that very day, would draw his troops to the rendezvous on Hounslow Heath; where he besought the commissioners to attend and inspect them.

The fortifications around London were also now completed. Great part of the labour required to construct these defences was supplied by the voluntary enthusiasm of the people. An *esprit de corps*, merged, in our days, in sentiments either narrower or more diffused, animated, in those times, the separate guilds of citizens. Those bodies rivalled each other in the alacrity with which they engaged in this novel employment. The trades marched out to the work in separate parties, bearing mattocks, shovels, and other tools, with drums beating, colours flying, and swords girded. Mixed with most of those companies were to be seen women and girls, some of them ladies of rank and education, two and two, carrying baskets filled with earth; many of whom wrought in the trenches, till they fell ill from the effect of unusual exertion. Of the works thus patriotically raised, an interesting description remains; and though long ago, every vestige of their existence has been swept

away, by the hand of time, or the march of Improvement, they appear to have been, for that age, of respectable efficiency. The stranger on approaching the capital by water, before he found himself enclosed between those dense ranks of merchantmen, which, even then, covered both banks of the Thames, was frowned upon, from either shore, by a stern multangular fort, with its deep trench and bristling palisades; surmounted by cannon, and guarded by many a steel-capped musketeer, sworn foes to cavaliers and malignants. From Limehouse, where they commenced, the lines stretched on to Whitechapel, to Shoreditch, to Hoxton; then along, by Holborn, to St. Giles's and Marylebone, to Tyburn and Hyde Park; whence bending round by Tothill-fields, the river was again commanded by two forts, the one erected at that station, and the other at Nine Elms, on the opposite side; from which point they stretched across the angle of Surrey, through Newington, to Redriff, where they again terminated upon the stream. At each of these, and of many intervening angles, a fort commanded the adjoining approaches. There were, in all, twenty-four forts, besides redoubts, counterscarps, and half-moons, along the trenches, between; the whole planted with 212 pieces of ordnance: a circuit of twelve miles, enclosing great wealth, and swarming with a various and eager population. At each chief central point, within this wide circumference, was placed a *corps-de-garde*,—in the City, in Southwark, by the houses of Parliament, at Whitehall. The writer, from whose curious details,

we copy the present sketch, though a Scotchman, a presbyterian, and a devoted admirer of the Parliament, unconsciously throws in a natural touch of loyal feeling, which finishes the grand but melancholy picture of a mighty capital in rebellion against its sovereign: "I found," says he, "the grass growing deep in the royal courts of the king's house; which, indeed, was a lamentable sight."

When Charles engaged the sons of his sister, the Queen of Bohemia, in the prosecution of the quarrel with his parliament, he introduced into his cause elements of dissension, which materially contributed to its defeat and ruin. Bristol was the chief city included in the brave Marquess of Hertford's commission, as lieutenant-general of the West; and the marquess was chief in command at the siege; nevertheless, Prince Rupert had not only engaged in the treaty without his advice, but concluded the articles of capitulation without naming him, or noticing his presence. This was not to be borne by a nobleman, who, though "of the most gentle nature to the gentle," was equally "rough and resolute to the imperious." In return, Hertford, with as little ceremony proceeded to the choice of a governor for that important place; selecting for that office the unexceptionable Sir Ralph Hopton. Rupert, on the other hand, proceeding upon the right of conquest, which he arrogated to himself, wished to reserve the appointment in his own disposal: and, understanding what the marquess designed, in the same despatch by which he acquainted the king with his success, besought him

to bestow the government of it on himself, as its captor. Charles, perplexed by the incident, and more so by the factious temper which it indicated, endeavoured to solve the difficulty by himself going to Bristol, and conferring the government on his nephew, upon his agreeing to grant a commission to Hopton, as his lieutenant; and by lavishing many personal attentions upon the marquess. To this arrangement Hertford submitted, from a sense of duty to his sovereign; but the army rang with murmurs that a rude young foreigner, whose best quality was animal courage, and whose highest merit consisted in the nepotic partiality of the king, should contemptuously step before one of the prime nobility of England into the government of the capital of the West. A second motive was likewise forced upon Charles, for keeping the Marquess of Hertford about his person; notwithstanding that, all this time, the heroic army of Cornwall was eagerly demanding back their leader. Rupert had inspired his brother Maurice with his own petulant disposition: it was too much that the king's nephew should be the lieutenant of a marquess. Hence, while the magnanimous and experienced Hertford was retained, an unwilling satellite in the royal tent, the temperate heroes of the West were submitted to the command of a youthful prince, unacquainted with English manners, and ignorant of the merits of the cause in which he drew his sword. The consequences were soon apparent. The gallant Earl of Carnarvon, than whom no man had contributed more to the successes of the royal arms at Mendip Hill, at Lansdown, and at Round-

way Down, and to whom Dorchester, Weymouth, Portland, had successively yielded, was driven from that army by disgust; and from this time the previous terror of the enemy at the sight of its banners so far subsided, that the little burghs of Lyme and Poole now laughed at its summons with impunity.

The advantage secured to the patriots by their great and irreversible triumph, was not lessened by its diminishing the numbers of their adherents; yet the king, by the reception given, on his part, to the seceders, strangely overlooked his own. Charles was recalled from before Gloucester to Oxford, by the consequences of this event. Seven peers—more than a third of the Lords' house—with several Commoners, the most eminent of the advocates of peace, had quitted Westminster; most of them for the king's quarters. The Earl of Northumberland, with characteristic prudence, obtained leave to retire to his house at Petworth, designing to wait there till he should be enabled to decide his movements from observing the reception given to his friends by the court. The Earl of Clare went into Worcestershire; the Earl of Portland, and the Lords Conway and Lovelace, directly to Oxford. The Earls of Bedford and Holland, being suspected, reached, with some difficulty, the royalist garrison at Wallingford; from whence notice of their arrival was forwarded to the king. A generous, nay, a sound policy, would have dictated a cordial reception to the seceders, tardy as their repentance had been. But Charles had his own feelings, always strong against undutifulness, to consult; while his council, to whom,

with seeming indifference, he referred back the question, had their own selfish views. Bedford had served against the king, as general of the parliament's horse; Holland, by his repeated treachery and ingratitude, had still more deeply offended. The court was extravagantly elated with the successes of the royal arms, and considered it no season for concession. Perhaps, the baser minds among its adherents were already calculating the plunder of the vanquished, and were unwilling to let the wealthiest of the expected prey deliver their estates from the forfeiture of treason. Never had so warm a debate shaken the council-board, though nearly all the members were unanimous against the proselyte earls. Some suggested, that since they had come into the king's quarters without leave, they ought to be made prisoners of war. Others as vehemently urged that they should be permitted to live within the king's quarter, but not be suffered to come to Oxford, until by some good service they had manifested the sincerity of their repentance. A third party thought so much severity impolitic: these proposed that the peers should be suffered to come to Oxford, that thereby they might be kept from returning to the parliament; but that they should neither be allowed to appear at court, nor be visited by any member of the king's council. Wiser—too wise for the occasion—was the unseconded advice of Hyde. "My advice," said that honest counsellor, "is, that they should be very graciously received by both their majesties, and visited and well-treated by every body; that by their treatment others may be encouraged

to follow their example. On what disadvantageous ground will the king and his cause stand," he continued, "if, while the parliament is using every effort and every artifice to corrupt the duty and affection of his majesty's subjects, and receiving all with open arms who come to them, he should himself close all return against those who have been faulty, or have not come so soon as they should have done? If the king were disposed to gratify and oblige his enemies, he could not do it more to their hearts desire than by rejecting the application of these lords, or allowing it to pass unregarded."

Charles listened to the debate, without taking any part in it; but did not conceal his satisfaction, when any expressions of peculiar severity reflected on the Earl of Holland. At the close, he said, he agreed that it would be unwise, at the present juncture, to treat any persons with extreme rigour; and thereupon gave command, that the governor of Wallingford should permit the lords to prosecute their journey to Oxford. "When here," observed the king, "all of you may visit them, or not, as you please. For myself and the queen, we intend to regulate our behaviour to them by their own conduct."

From this chilling half-measure nothing but evil followed. Though the royal fiat was wholly unaccompanied by any sign of favour, it cast a cloud over the hostile council-table. As little satisfactory was it to the converts. The necessity of withdrawing from a party with whom we have been engaged, is in itself humiliating—it reflects self-condemnation on the past:

a cold and repulsive welcome among those, from regard to whom, or whose cause, we either do, or flatter ourselves we do, go over to them, at once wounds us with the tooth of ingratitude, opens all the springs of self-reproach, and revives regretful memories of the path we have deserted. The two earls remained some months at the court; but though they accompanied the king, and fought by his side, in the ensuing campaign, the contemptuous treatment they met with from the courtiers became insupportable: they therefore seized the first opportunity to return secretly to the parliament. The Earl of Clare, a nobleman of a higher spirit, asked, and obtained permission to retire into the country for his private affairs: while Northumberland, judging from the bad success of his friends what he might expect at Oxford, again threw the weight of his great fortune and respectable character into the opposite scale.

Jealousy and discontent began to pervade the whole army, and rapidly increased with that decline in the king's affairs, which gave the factious and discontented, on all hands, an opportunity for mutual charges and recriminations. Thus was the right hand of the king's power becoming palsied, and his ruin prepared. The army was also exceedingly unpopular. The condition of the country was indeed lamentable. Alternately exposed, in many places, to the aggressions of the royalist and parliamentarian troops, the harassed people often did not know which masters to obey: only they were sure that whichever party went, or came, those who quitted them would carry away the plun-

dered wealth of their fields, their stalls, and homesteads; and that those who succeeded would wring from them what remained, perhaps accompanying their acts of rapine with blows and execrations, on account of having been forestalled. These oppressions were incident to the movements of the armies on both sides, great and small alike. But Rupert's troops were distinguished for license and rapacity; and, by degrees, as the authority of Hertford and Hopton gave way before the influence of the two princes, Rupert and Maurice, the evil report which followed them began to attach equally to all the forces of the royalists.

Nor was the army the only scene of those factions and disorders, which were among the main causes of Charles's overthrow. They divided the council, and shook the mutual confidence of the sovereign and his consort. Even in the cabinet, the intemperate suggestions of the royal brothers were too often preferred to the advice of Colepepper, of Falkland, and of Hyde; and Charles had actually to make a journey from the West to allay the jealous apprehensions of Henrietta, that either or both parties would trench upon the right to interfere in public affairs, which she claimed, and which the king was but too much disposed to yield, as legitimately her own. A third party, the mere creatures of the court, every day added to the vexations of the royal pair, by demands of place, honours, and emolument; which the manifest inability of the king and queen, in the present circumstances, to satisfy, had in no degree the effect of relaxing. The

vices and the meanness of the mean and vicious followers of a court, are never more apparent than in exile, or amid the tumultuous vicissitudes of a war of parties.

Two methods of prosecuting the war, with an apparent prospect of success, lay open to the king, at the time when he left Bristol with his victorious army. The first was to march directly to London, and fall upon his enemies in their state of dissension and unpreparedness. To lay siege to Gloucester, the only considerable place in the west of England, still held by the forces of the parliament, was the second. Charles would gladly have followed the first, had he found his strength sufficient. On the fall of Bristol, he had written to the victorious Earl of Newcastle, who was then preparing to invest Hull, to leave a sufficient force before that place to block it up, and, with the bulk of his forces, to march through the associated eastern counties, where no serious obstruction to his progress was to be expected; and, joining the royal army in its advance from the West, enable the king to follow up that design. Newcastle excused himself, on the plea that many of his officers, being gentlemen whose estates lay in the north, refused to march from their homes with the troops of the enemy in their rear. This pretence was not groundless: the voluntary nature of the service on either side, often, by desertion or refusal to march, deprived the commanders of both troops and officers, in moments of the most pressing exigency. But the truth was, that this high-spirited and independent nobleman, having the example

of the Marquess of Hertford before his eyes, was resolved "to avoid the mortification of receiving orders and perhaps insolence from Rupert."—The king presented himself before Gloucester.

Arriving, on the tenth of August, he sent two heralds to the town with a summons, requiring it to receive a governor and garrison of his appointing. Charles demanded a positive answer before the expiration of two hours. Within that space, two citizens, Pudsey, a serjeant-major in the garrison, and another, returned with the king's heralds, bringing the answer of Massey, its determined governor. The noble historian makes himself merry with the figures of this worthy pair of presbyterian burghers, and the effect which their appearance produced upon the excitable cavaliers. Expressing defiance in every angle of their harsh, lean visages, their gestures, and even their garb, they "at once," he says, "made the most severe countenances merry, and the most cheerful hearts sad. The men, without any circumstance of duty or good manners, in a pert, shrill, undismayed accent, said, 'We have brought an answer from the godly city of Gloucester to the king:'" in short, they conducted themselves with a kind of insolence so peculiar, that they seemed as if their orders had been chiefly to provoke him to violate his own safe conduct. The answer they brought was in writing, and in these words: "We the inhabitants, magistrates, officers, and soldiers, within this garrison of Gloucester, unto his majesty's gracious message return this humble answer: That we do keep this city, according to our oaths and

allegiance, to and for the use of his majesty and his royal posterity; and do accordingly conceive ourselves wholly bound to obey the commands of his majesty, signified by both houses of parliament: and are resolved, by God's help, to keep this city accordingly;" an answer, which, though like all such documents on the side of the parliament, couched in odiously hypocritical terms, wronging and insulting the king to his face, under a show of duty,—was yet a brave defiance, from a garrison of 1400 men, a great proportion of them raw militia, almost destitute of ordnance and ammunition, and occupying a vast compass of ill-constructed lines, to send to the commander of a powerful army, flushed with the insolence of recent victory. Charles received it without any expression of displeasure, yet with manifest wonder. "Gentlemen," he asked, "on what hope of relief does your confidence rest? Waller is extinct, and Essex cannot come." He at once dismissed them; and had hardly seen the gates close on those uncouth visitors of a king, when the large and well-built suburbs of the city were observed to be on fire; and some cannon placed over the west gate, being discharged upon a body of horse, which had been drawn up on that side, within range of shot, forced them to retire. The king's army immediately set about their entrenchments. Thus, a respite from immediate attack was granted to the parties in London; which was all they were now in need of; for there, whatever had caused the change, all slackness, if not all dissension, was at an end; and, starting from a state of inactivity and despondence, they at once rose to

a point of energetic unanimity which they never afterwards abandoned.

Essex undertook to raise the siege of Gloucester. On the 24th of August, to the astonishment of the parties themselves, he was able, in the presence of many members of both houses of parliament, to muster an army of 10,000 men, at Hounslow; and being joined, at Aylesbury, by several regiments of trained bands from the City, some troops of horse, and a train of artillery, he, finally, marched for Gloucester on the 29th. The king's horse amounted to no less than 8000 men; but as no person in his camp would believe that the expresses, forwarded to London by Massey, could really put an army in motion for his relief, the enemy was allowed to march a distance of thirty miles, through an open country, admirably suited to the evolutions of cavalry, without any other annoyance than some skirmishing with a few light troops. On the 5th day of September, when the siege had lasted just twenty-six days, the thunder of the parliamentarian cannon, from Presbury hills, put an end to all doubt by announcing Essex's arrival. Scarcely could the besieged have held out a few hours longer. When, therefore, Charles had received certain information of the lord-general's approach, he attempted, by sending a herald with propositions of peace, to delay his march, at least for that space. The earl replied, that he had no commission to treat, but to relieve the beleaguered city: and relieve it, he added, he would, or perish in the attempt. The purport of the herald's visit being known through the ranks, the soldiers saluted him, as he passed

along, on his return, with cries of "No propositions! No propositions!" Essex presently after discovered the huts on fire in the king's camp. Charles had retired in haste and some confusion, intending to dispute his enemy's return. That day, the besieged had set apart for a public fast; but on Essex's entering the city, it was turned to a day of ardent rejoicing. The most passionate expressions of gratitude to their deliverer were mingled with solemn thanksgiving to God, by whose special providence they believed that relief to have been sent. The earl, in return, acknowledged the signal service rendered to the cause of the parliament by the heroic defence of Gloucester. During the twenty-eight days, that the siege lasted, several brave sallies had been made, in which the garrison took a great number of prisoners, and slew many of their assailants. They were reduced at last to two or three barrels of powder, and had no provisions of any kind remaining. Essex brought supplies into the town, remained two days to refresh his troops, and then marched out, intending to manœuvre his way back to London, without risking a battle.

With the view of dividing the king's forces, he made demonstrations as if he had intended to proceed northward to Worcester; but, changing his route on a sudden, marched to Tewkesbury; from whence, with the advantage of a dark night, he reached Cirencester. Arriving there before daybreak, he surprised a convoy of provisions, intended for the royalist army before Gloucester, and made prisoners about 400 of the king's troops, raw levies, who had the charge of it; most of

whom were taken in their beds, and their horses feeding in the stables. At the foot of the Auburn Hills, as the army was passing through that deep, enclosed country towards Newbury, Rupert came suddenly upon the rear-guard, and routed them, forcing them to retire in great disorder to the main army. Here they formed again; but were a second time attacked: and now the skirmish became fierce and general, continuing with great slaughter till the parliamentarians took shelter in Hungerford.

At length, the next day, the earl came within sight of Newbury; but found, to his surprise, that the king had already been there two hours, and was prepared to dispute his farther passage. The royalist army was advantageously posted; it had possession of the town, and the adjoining hill called Bigg's Hill; Wallingford was at hand, and Oxford itself within a convenient distance for the supply of whatever reinforcements should be wanting. Charles sent a formal challenge to his adversary, which Essex had no alternative but to accept. Robert Codrington, a parliamentary officer, has left a narrative of this memorable fight; which, though greatly superior in clearness and force to the usual flat and confused accounts, and though printed in so common a book as the *Harleian Miscellany*, seems to have escaped the notice of historians, until recently quoted by Mr. Forster, in his *Life of Cromwell*, from the original tract. The partiality of this narrative we may readily excuse, for the sake of its beauty and general faithfulness.

"All that night," says Codrington, who was evi-

dently an eye-witness, "our army lay in the fields, impatient of the sloth of darkness, and wishing for the morning's light, to exercise their valour; and the rather, because the king had sent a challenge overnight to the lord-general, to give him battle the next morning. A great part of the enemy's army continued also in the field, incapable of sleep, their enemy being so nigh; and, sometimes looking on the ground, they thought of the melancholy element of which they were composed, and to which they must return; and sometimes looking up, they observed the silent marches of the stars and the moving scene of heaven. The day no sooner appeared but they were marshalled into order, and advanced to the brow of the hill; and not long after, the ordnance was planted, and the whole body of their horse and foot stood in battalia. The officers and commanders of their foot, many of them, left off their doublets, and, with daring resolution, brought on their men; and, as if they came rather to triumph than to fight, they, in their shirts, did lead them up to the battle. The first that gave the charge was the most noble Lord Roberts, whose actions speak him higher than our epithets. He performed it with great resolution; and by his own example, shewed excellent demonstrations of valour to his regiment. The cavalry of the enemy performed also their charge most bravely, and gave in with a mighty impression upon him. A prepared body of our army made haste to relieve him. Upon this, two regiments of the king's horse, with a fierce charge, saluted the blue regiment of the London trained bands,

who gallantly discharged upon them, and did beat them back; but they, being no whit daunted at it, wheeled about, and on a sudden charged them: our musketeers did again discharge, and that with so much violence and success, that they sent them now, not wheeling, but reeling from them; and yet, for all that, they made a third assault, and coming in full squadrons, they did the utmost of their endeavours to break through their ranks; but a cloud of bullets came at once so thick from our muskets, and made such havoc amongst them, both of men and horse, that, in a fear, full of confused speed, they did fly before us, and did no more adventure upon so warm a service.

"In the meantime, Sir Philip Stapleton performed excellent service with the lord-general's regiment of horse, and five times together did charge the enemy: but, above all, the renown and glory of this day is most justly due unto the resolution and conduct of our general; for, before the battle was begun, he did ride from one regiment to another, and did inflame them with courage, and perceiving in them all an eager desire to battle with their enemies, he collected to himself a sure presage of victory to come. I have heard, that when, in the heat and tempest of the fight, some friends of his did advise him to leave off his white hat, because it rendered him an object too remarkable to the enemy, 'No,' replied the earl, 'it is not the hat but the heart; the hat is not capable either of fear or honour." He, himself, being foremost in person, did lead up the city regiment, and when a vast body of the

enemy's horse had given so violent a charge, that they had broken quite through it, he quickly rallied his men together, and, with undaunted courage, did lead them up the hill. In his way he did beat the infantry of the king from hedge to hedge, and did so scatter them, that hardly any of the foot appeared to keep together in a body. After six hours' long fight, with the assistance of his horse, he gained those advantages which the enemy possessed in the morning, which were the hill, the hedges, and the river. In the meantime, a party of the enemy's horse, in a great body, wheeled about, and about three-quarters of a mile below the hill, they did fall upon the rear of our army, where our carriages were placed. To relieve which, his excellency sent a selected party from the hill to assist their friends, who were deeply engaged in the fight. These forces, marching down the hill, did meet a regiment of horse of the enemy's, who in their hats had branches of furze and broom, which our army did that day wear, for distinction sake, to be known by one another from their adversaries, and they cried out to our men, 'Friends, friends;' but, they being discovered to be enemies, our men gave fire upon them, and having some horse to second the execution, they did force them farther from them: our men being now marched to the bottom of the hill, they increased the courage of their friends, and, after a sharp conflict, they forced the king's horse to fly with remarkable loss, having left the ground strewed with the carcasses of their horses and riders.

"His excellency, having now planted his ordnance

on the top of the hill, did thunder against the enemy; where he found their numbers to be thickest; and the king's ordnance, being yet on the same hill, did play with the like fury against the forces of his excellency: the cannon on each side did dispute with one another, as if the battle was but new begun. The trained bands of the City of London endured the chiefest heat of the day, and had the honour to win it; for being now upon the brow of the hill, they lay not only open to the horse, but the cannon of the enemy; yet they stood undaunted, and conquerors, against all; and like a grove of pines in a day of wind and tempest, they only moved their heads or arms, but kept their foot sure, unless, by an improvement of honour, they advanced forward to pursue their advantage on their enemies.

"Although the night did now draw on, yet neither of the armies did draw off: the enemy's horse, in a great body, did stand on the farthest side of the hill, and the broken remainders of their foot behind them, and having made some pillage about the middle of the night, they drew off their ordnance, and retreated unto Newbury: on the next morning, his excellency, being absolute master of the field, did marshal again his soldiers into order to receive the enemy, if he had any stomach in the field, and to that purpose discharged a piece of ordnance, but, no enemy appearing, he marched towards Reading."

The battle of Newbury, like that of Edge-hill, was followed by no decided results. It was fought, says Clarendon, all day, without any such notable turn, as that either party could think they had much the

better: the night parted them, when nothing else could. The parliamentarians, indeed, loudly claimed the victory; and not without reason; since the king's army suffered them, with the morning light, to take quiet possession of the town, and to march forward, unmolested, towards London. Technically considered, it appears, there were errors and oversights on both sides in the conduct of this great encounter; but it was marked throughout by those nobler characteristics than mere calculating skill, which distinguished the whole course of this fatal war — undaunted bravery and inflexible resolution. Rupert's charges were never more fierce or frequent, — never had they been so admirably sustained. Upon the immovable rampart presented by the pikes of the London trained bands, again and again the stormy valour of his choicest cavaliers broke in vain. Those regiments, "of whose inexperience of danger, or any kind of service beyond the easy practice of their postures in the Artillery Garden, men had till then too cheap an estimation, behaved themselves to wonder; and were, in truth, the preservation of the army of the parliament that day."

In this sanguinary field, "according to the unequal fate that attended all conflicts with such an adversary," the loss of known and distinguished individuals was chiefly on the king's side; "for whilst some obscure, unheard-of colonel or officer was missing from the ranks of the parliament, and some citizen's wife bewailed the death of her husband, there were, on the king's side, above twenty field-officers, and persons of

rank and public name, slain upon the spot, and more of the same quality wounded."

Three noblemen of high rank and estimable character were of the number. The young Earl of Sunderland was struck down by a cannon bullet. The brave and enlightened Earl of Carnarvon, on his return from a victorious charge of a body of the enemy's horse, passing carelessly among some of the scattered troopers, was, by one of them, who recognised him, run through the body. But the loss most deeply and generally deplored was that of Lord Falkland,—"a loss which no time will suffer to be forgotton, and no success of good fortune could repair." So wrote the affectionate and eloquent Clarendon, in the commencement of that eulogium, which will be read with delight as long as friendship exists, and excellence excites admiration. He was "a person," continues the noble historian, "of such prodigious parts of learning and knowledge, of that inimitable sweetness and delight in conversation, of so flowing and obliging a humanity and goodness to mankind, and of that primitive simplicity and integrity of life, that if there were no other brand upon this odious and accursed civil war than that single loss, it must be most infamous and execrable to all posterity. He was a great cherisher of wit, and fancy, and good parts, in any man; and, if he found them clouded with poverty or want, a most liberal and bountiful patron towards them, even above his fortune. . . His house being within little more than ten miles of Oxford, he contracted familiarity and friendship with the most polite and accurate men of

that University; who found such an immenseness of wit, and such a solidity of judgment, in him; so infinite a fancy bound in by a most logical ratiocination: such a vast knowledge, that he was not ignorant of any thing, yet such an excessive humility, as if he had known nothing; that they frequently resorted and dwelt with him, in a college situated in a purer air: so that his house was a university in a less volume, whither they came not so much to repose as study, and to examine and refine those grosser propositions which laziness and content made current in vulgar conversation . . . He was guilty of no other ambition than of knowledge, and to be reputed a lover of all good men. He was so jealous of the least imagination that he should incline to preferment, that he affected even a moroseness to the court and to the courtiers. And if any thing but not doing his duty could have kept him from receiving a testimony of the king's grace, he had not been called to his council. Not that he was, in truth, averse from public employment; for he had a great devotion to the king's person; but he abhorred that an imagination or doubt should sink into the thoughts of any man, that in the discharge of his trust and duty in parliament he had any bias to the court, or that the king himself should apprehend that he looked for a reward for being honest . . . For as he had a full appetite of fame by just and generous actions, so he had an equal contempt of it by any servile expedients . . . For these reasons he submitted to the king's command, and became his secretary, with as humble and devoted an acknowledgment of the greatness of the obligation, as

could be expressed, and as true a sense of it in his heart . . . He had a courage of the most clear and keen temper; and therefore upon any occasion of action, he always engaged his person in those troops which he thought, by the forwardness of the commanders, to be most likely to be farthest engaged; and in all such encounters he had about him an extraordinary cheerfulness, without at all affecting the execution that usually attended them, in which he took no delight, but took pains to prevent it, where it was not, by resistance, made necessary: insomuch that at Edge-hill, when the enemy was routed, he was like to have incurred great peril, by interposing to save those who had thrown away their arms; so that a man might think he came into the field chiefly out of curiosity to see the face of danger, and charity to prevent the shedding of blood. Yet in his natural inclination he was addicted to the profession of a soldier.

"From the first entrance into this unnatural war, his natural cheerfulness and vivacity grew clouded, and a kind of sadness and dejection of spirit stole upon him, which he had never been used to; yet being one of those who believed that one battle would end all differences, and that there would be so great a victory on one side, that the other would be compelled to submit to any conditions from the victor, he resisted those indispositions. But after the king's return from Brentford, and the furious resolution of the two houses, not to admit any treaty for peace, those indispositions, which had before touched him, grew into a perfect habit of uncheerfulness; and he, who had been so

exactly easy and affable to all men, and held any cloudiness and less pleasantness of visage a kind of rudeness and incivility, became on a sudden less communicable; and thence very sad, pale, and exceedingly affected with spleen. When there was any overture or hope of peace, he would be more erect and vigorous, and exceedingly solicitous to press any thing which he thought might promote it; and sitting among his friends, often, after a deep silence and frequent sighs, would, with a shrill and sad accent, ingeminate the word 'Peace! Peace!' and would passionately profess, that the view of the calamities and desolation the kingdom did and must endure, took his sleep from him, and would shortly break his heart. This made some think, or pretend to think, that he was so much enamoured of peace, that he would have been glad the king should have bought it at any price; which was a most unreasonable calumny: as if a man that was himself the most punctual and precise in every circumstance that might reflect upon conscience or honour, could have wished the king to have committed a trespass against either. And yet this scandal made some impression upon him, or at least he used it for an excuse of the daringness of his spirit. For, at the leaguer before Gloucester, when his friends passionately reprehended him for exposing his person unnecessarily to danger (for he delighted to visit the trenches and nearest approaches, to discover what the enemy did), as being so much beside the duty of his place, that it might be understood rather to be against it, he would say merrily, that his office could

not take away the privilege of his age; and that a secretary in war might be present at the greatest secret of danger; but withal alleged seriously, that it concerned him to be more active in enterprises of hazard than other men; that all might see that his impatience for peace proceeded not from pusillanimity, or fear to adventure his own person."

The noble historian pours out "his love and grief," at still greater length, on the death of his admired friend, both in his great work, and in the memoirs of his own life; but we can afford room only for one characteristic anecdote. "He was so ill a dissembler of his dislike and disinclination to all men," relates Clarendon, "that it was not possible for such not to discern it. There was once, in the house of Commons, such a declared acceptation of the good service an eminent member had done to them, and, as they said, to the whole kingdom, that it was moved, he being present, 'that the speaker might, in the name of the whole house, give him thanks; and then, that every member might, as a testimony of his particular acknowledgment, stir or move his hat towards him;' the which (though not ordered), when very many did, the Lord Falkland (who believed the service itself not to be of that moment, and that an honourable and generous person could not have stooped to it for any recompence), instead of moving his hat, stretched both his arms out, and clasped his hands together upon the crown of his hat, and held it close down to his head; that all men might see, how odious that flattery was to him, and

the very approbation of the person, though at that time most popular."

Other contemporary writers concur, though in more condensed language, in the eulogium of Falkland, and confirm Clarendon's account of the circumstances which attended his death. On the morning of the fight, we are told, by Whitelocke and Rushworth, he dressed himself with a degree of nicety, which, though formerly habitual to him, had, since his period of gloom, given way to negligence; telling his friends, with an air of gaiety, that if he were slain in battle they should not find his body in foul linen. In answer to their earnest and affectionate entreaties to take no part in the fight, as not being a military man, he replied, while returning sadness again overspread his expressive countenance, that he was weary of looking upon his country's misery, "and did believe he should be out of it ere night." He then put himself into the first rank of the Lord Byron's regiment; and, advancing upon the enemy, who had lined the hedges on both sides with musketeers, presently received a shot from a musket, and fell from his horse to the ground, where his body lay undiscovered till the next morning. "Thus," concludes Clarendon, "fell that incomparable young man, in the four-and-thirtieth year of his age; having so much despatched the true business of life, that the eldest rarely attain to that immense knowledge, and the youngest enter not into the world with more innocency: whosoever leads such a life, needs be the less anxious upon how short warning it is taken from him."

The Earl of Essex pursued his march towards Reading, unmolested by the king's army, until he entered an enclosed country, within a few miles of that place; when Rupert, with a strong party of horse and musketeers, fell upon his rear, and threw them into great disorder, killing many, and taking many prisoners. At Reading, a committee of the Lords and Commons met their victorious general, to congratulate him on the great service he had done the parliament, and to learn the wants of his army, with an assurance that they should be all forthwith supplied. He then moved forward towards the capital, leaving Reading to be occupied by a garrison of royalists. In London, a form of solemn thanksgiving was appointed; the day after his arrival, the earl received a visit of thanks from the speaker and the whole house of Commons; the City rang with notes of triumph; all thoughts of peace were banished; and the mutual jealousies which had long existed between his excellency and Waller were reconciled, by the politic submission of Sir William to his placable and triumphant rival. King Charles, meantime, and his nephew, retired with their army to Oxford, more dispirited than, in reality, the events of the campaign of 1643 appeared to warrant.

CHAPTER XIII.

THE CHURCH IN DESOLATION.

THOUGH the most prominent actors in that great national tragedy, the eventful progress of which we have so far sketched, were, with one exception, only statesmen and soldiers; yet the conflict which engaged their energies, was, in reality, a religious conflict. "The quarrel," observed a contemporary writer, "dependeth only and absolutely between the Papists and the Protestants (he meant, between the Church and the Puritans) for either must the gospel prevail with us, or else their idolatry will overtrample all." Hence, those measures which tended to the entire destruction of the Church of England kept pace with the growth of the parliamentary power, in the houses of Lords and Commons, and in the field.

It was no more than common gratitude, on the part of the parliament, to compliment Prynne and his compeers with an oration, and to reward them with a share of the fines imposed on the Star Chamber judges; since (if we except the indiscretions of the bishops themselves) the first serious mischief to the church came from the hands of that indefatigable libeller. Assaults, in-

deed, more formidable followed, from the press and the pulpit, before the loosened fabric was ready for the finishing stroke of the parliamentary levellers. "The Histrio-Mastix," and "Sion's Plea against Prelacy," were succeeded by the famous "Smectymnuus," which Calamy, one of its writers, asserted to have been the first deadly blow to episcopacy; and again, the controversy opened by "Smectymnuus" drew forth Milton, in his least admirable character, as a religious partisan, with such terrible effect, that a writer, well acquainted with the controversies of that age, avers his belief, that the "great talents, the learning, the blameless lives, the powerful arguments, of Usher and Hall, would have preserved the church, if Milton had not descended, with all his overwhelming might of learning, eloquence, and scorn, into the contest." Presently, the prelates' benches were exposed, naked, to the mockery of the people; the bishops themselves, fined and imprisoned for an act of fatuity, by party exaggeration absurdly called treason, were dismissed unheeded to obscurity and want. By this time, sequestration, fine, and imprisonment, had, in like manner, cleared the pulpits of London and the other large towns, of "malignant ministers;" and had made way for preachers of a different temper, who, not alone silently submissive to the will of their patrons, were prepared on all occasions to sound, on their behalf, in the the popular ear, the trumpet of alarm and agitation.

From removing those persons out of sacred offices who had obstructed the march of the new reformation, it was a natural step to proceed to sweep away also such

holy things, likewise, as had been discovered to be offensive. In the month of August, 1643, the Lords at length concurred in the Commons' ordinance "for demolishing and taking away all monuments of idolatry and superstition." The beautiful crosses at Cheapside and Charing Cross were among the earliest objects which fell a prey to this Gothic enactment. The cross at Cheap, commonly known, on account of its magnificence, by the name of "the Golden Cross," was the first to perish. First of all, the images were broken down; "the sequel day," we are told, the whole was rased to the ground. "It was a monumental ornament," writes an eye-witness, a Scotch Covenanter—one not likely, therefore, to own excessive sympathy in such a case,—"worthy of a royal city, and the beautiful object of admiration to all beholders and strangers. The third day thereafter," he continues, "they caused to take down all the new and old crosses on churches and steeple-tops." The next step began that war upon the cathedrals, which was revived, from time to time, through succeeding years; until, at length, in a moment of panic terror, lest extinct episcopacy should once more lift its head, the entire demolition of those sublime monuments of the nation's ancient piety was gravely recommended, in a committee, upon the prudential maxim, that "if you tear down the nests, the birds will be sure not to return." The noblest ecclesiastical structures were plundered and defaced. Aided by the rabble, who always regard with a feeling of hostile superstition those prodigious edifices, whose magnificence amazes, and whose grandeur awes, them; and

by the soldiery, whose habits of indiscriminate ravage were exasperated by puritan animosity; the coarse zealots, to whom the work of destruction was intrusted, set about their task in delighted earnest. Cromwell, at Peterborough, "in pursuance of the thorough reformation," set the example of desecrating the cathedrals. At Canterbury, the soldiers and people overthrew the communion-table, tore the velvet covering, violated the monuments of the dead, broke down "the rarest windows in Christendom," destroyed the organ, the ancient wood-work, and the brazen eagle which supported the bible; tore up, or took away, the service-books and vestments, and strewed the pavement with fragments. Observing, in the arras hangings of the choir, some figures of the Saviour, they drew their daggers, and, with many oaths and execrations, pierced them through and through. A statue of the same Divine Person, in a niche of the exterior, was exposed to similar outrage. They discharged their muskets at it, "triumphing much" when the shots took effect upon the head and face of the figure. Still worse enormities are reported to have occurred, during the occupation of Lichfield by the profligate followers of Sir John Gell. The carvings, the rich windows, the curious pavement, the costly tombs, the records belonging to the Close and city, were all destroyed or mutilated. The governor set the example of spoliation by appropriating to himself the communion-plate and linen. The soldiers kept courts of guard in the aisles, and made the lofty roofs echo to their lewd revelry. The pulpit was occupied from time to time by various

fanatical preachers, who encouraged these acts of profanation. Here, as well as, among other places, at Sudley, they established a slaughter-house within the consecrated building, and cut up the carcasses upon the altar. At Sudley, they threw the offal into the burial vault of the noble family of Chandos. St. Paul's was converted into a stable for the cavalry horses. In several churches, they brought calves, swine, and other animals to the fonts; where they sprinkled them with water, and named them, in derision of the holy sacrament of baptism. At Westminster, under the very eyes of the parliament, the soldiers sat drinking and smoking at the altar, lived in the abbey, and converted its sacred precincts to the vilest uses. In the chapel at Lambeth, Parker's monument was thrown down, the remains of the prelate buried in a dunghill, and the leaden coffin which enclosed them sold.

Though it be true that of these, and the numberless other enormities of the same kind recorded, some were merely the natural outbursts of vulgar wantonness, in a period of reaction and excitement, for which the governing powers ought not to be held responsible; yet the same excuse cannot be alleged in regard to others. Can the warmest friends of freedom, political or religious, defend that course of cruel "statesmanship," to which all nobler principles were sacrificed, in the case of the unhappy but courageous Laud? Besides the fines imposed upon the archbishop, as one of the judges of Prynne and his fellows, he was fined 20,000*l.* for his share in

the proceedings of the convocation of 1640. If we are without proof that this enormous mulct was ever paid, the reason is, because before it could be levied other means were found to deprive the imprisoned primate of all he had. Some months after his palace had been converted into a prison for delinquents, over whom, to render the insult more galling, Leighton, one of the victims of Star Chamber severity, was appointed keeper, there was presented to the house of Lords the following "humble petition of William, Archbishop of Canterbury, shewing: That he hath neither lands, lease, nor money; that the small store of plate he had is long since melted down for his necessary support and expenses, caused by his present troubles; that his rents and profits are sequestered, and now all his goods taken from him, and no maintenance at all allowed him; insomuch that if some friends of his had not had compassion on his wants, and sent him some little supply, he had not been able to subsist till this present; and now this supply is at the last. He humbly prays that your lordships would take his sad condition into your considerations, that somewhat may be allowed him out of his estate to supply the necessities of life; assuring himself that your lordships will not, in honour and justice, suffer him either to beg or starve." At the reading of this affecting appeal, the Lords appear to have been touched with some feelings of compassion. They resolved to allow their venerable prisoner and former compeer something, for charity, to supply his wants; they even recommended his petition to the consideration of the

other house. The Commons replied, that they would send an answer by messengers of their own; "but," remarks the parliamentary historian, "we hear no more of it from that quarter." We hear, some time after, of very different measures. Two members of the Commons' house went over to Lambeth, with a file of musketeers to search for treasure. A sum amounting to 78*l.* was discovered, and taken away "for the maintenance of the king's children;" "God, in his mercy," said the primate, "look favourably upon the king, and bless his children from needing any such poor maintenance!" A previous search had been made for arms; it having been reported, that the archbishop had provided himself with arms sufficient for 2000 men. The messengers remained long in the palace: examined every room; and when at length they withdrew, paraded through the streets, amid shouts of popular execration, a quantity sufficient for about 200; the whole of which had passed into Laud's possession by purchase from his puritanical predecessor, Abbot.

Nor did the walls of the Tower protect the grey-haired primate from personal insult. The preachers appointed to officiate before him, of whom one was captain of a troop of horse, as well as the incumbent of a parish, and who appeared in the pulpit in his buff coat and scarf, under his gown, — made their sermons the vehicles of such unseemly invective against him, that the congregation would rise up in their seats to observe whether he could endure their taunts with patience. His imprisonment had already continued

between two and three years, when the house of Commons at length resolved to proceed with the impeachment. In order to strengthen as much as possible the evidence against him, it was determined to seize his private papers and memorandums. The person employed for this purpose was his implacable enemy, Prynne. It was unfortunate for his own reputation, as well as for the poor, defenceless archbishop, when the natural sense of injury in the bosom of that individual was put to so severe a test. Prynne burst upon his present victim and former prosecutor, before the infirm prelate had left his bed; and proceeded, with ruffian insolence, to search the pockets of his apparel. He carried off all the papers which Laud had prepared for his defence, including his diary, and his book of private devotions; although the archbishop pleaded hard for the sacredness, at all events, of the last. Terrible things, the Presbyterian pulpit announced, had been brought to light in this search. An ordinance was now passed for the perpetual sequestration of all the temporalities of the see of Canterbury, and for transferring the patronage to the parliament. It is worthy of remark, that the final determination to proceed with this "interrupted sacrifice," coincided with the vote for the embassy to Scotland: it had become necessary, observes a republican writer, to do something effectual for the encouragement of the Scots.

That nation was, from the beginning of the unhappy disputes in the south, sufficiently alive to the important influence upon the fate of England which circumstances,

or treachery, had thrown into their hands. Far were they from being really indifferent, though they might affect to be so, to the applications which had been made to them by the parliament, for sympathy and aid. Hitherto the messages of their English friends had contained none of those explicit propositions in favour of the ecclesiastical polity of Scotland, which they had expected. When, however, the committee of parliament arrived, with full power to satisfy them on this as well as on all other points, that coyness, by which the leaders in England had been so much disconcerted, vanished at once. The convention of estates, and the assembly of the kirk, to either or both of whom Vane and his colleagues were instructed to address themselves, had been long ready to receive their proposals. The arrival of the committee was celebrated as a triumph; and their credentials, in separate letters, to the convention and the assembly, were read with enthusiasm.

Vane's subtility was not confined to his mystic theological treatises. The agent of an independent faction, and himself more extravagant and inflexible in his religious views than his associates, yet aware that the Scots, on the other hand, though eager to do all that could be required of them, on condition of being allowed to impose their system of church discipline on England, would on no other condition be induced to move — this statesman, so much vaunted for his purity and loftiness of mind, determined by bare *finesse* to surmount all difficulties. He insisted that the engagement, which was to cement the two

nations in bonds of brotherhood and religion, should not, like the previous national vows of the Scots, among themselves, be termed a covenant merely, but a "solemn *league* and covenant;" for the ulterior objects of the party required that it might be broken, whenever its violation should be found convenient: which a league might be, but not a mere covenant. Again, in the famous article which provided for the security of the Kirk of Scotland, and for the reformation of the Church of England on the same model, after the following words, as originally proposed by the Scots, "according to the example of the best reformed churches" (by which they intended their own), he procured the insertion of the clause, "and according to the word of God," thereby opening a retreat for the Independents. With these, and some other amendments of the same kind, this memorable instrument was finally brought before the synod. Some of the leading speakers, whom Vane had gained over, commended it in terms of lavish eulogium; the assembly failed to detect the juggle; and immediately, with one voice, voted for all its provisions.

A desirable bait was, indeed, held before the eyes of the Scots, in a treaty founded, upon the "solemn league and covenant," and negotiated at the same time. Among the stipulations of this treaty it was agreed that the Scotch forces, to be supplied for the more effectual prosecution of the war, should be paid by England 30,000*l.* per month; and should receive for their outfit an advance of 100,000*l.*, with satisfaction

for all arrears due to the Scots for their exertions in 1640 and 1641, besides a reasonable recompense on the conclusion of peace; that, meantime, they should have assigned to them, as security, the lands and estates of papists, prelates, malignants, and their adherents; lastly, that no pacification should be entered into without the advice of the Scots, who should have an equal power in conducting the negotiations. This last important stipulation was effectually followed out, when, in the ensuing February, the Scotch commissioners in London sat down, with joint authority, by the side of the most conspicuous members of the two houses, in the great committee for administering public affairs. The draught of the covenant was quickly brought to Westminster; was referred, as a case of conscience, to the consideration of the assembly of divines; being by them approved, was adopted by both houses of parliament; and the 21st of September was fixed for the memorable solemnity of its public adoption.

Never had the cause been in so promising a condition. Never had sectarian freedom enjoyed so glorious a field day. The scene was St. Margaret's Church, where both houses, with the assembly of divines and the Scotch commissioners, assembled at an early hour. First of all, Mr. White, one of the Assembly, "prayed an hour to prepare the audience." Nye then mounted the pulpit, and made an oration in praise of the covenant, "shewing the warrant of it from Scripture, the examples of it since the creation, and the benefit of it to the church. The oath," he said, "was such,

and in the matter and consequence of such concernment, as it was truly worthy of them,—yea, of those kingdoms,—yea, of all the kingdoms of the world. It could be no other but the result and answer of such prayers and tears, of such sincerity and sufferings, as theirs, that three kingdoms should be thus newborn in a day. They were entering upon a work of the greatest moment and concernment to themselves, and to their posterities after them, that ever was undertaken by any of them, or any of their fathers before them. It was a duty of the first commandment, and therefore of the highest and noblest order and rank of duties; it therefore must come forth attended with choicest graces, as fear and humility, and in the greatest simplicity and plainness of spirit, and respect of those with whom they covenanted: it was to advance the kingdom of Christ here upon earth, and make Jerusalem once more the praise of the whole earth." Dr. Gouge then took his turn, in prayer. Next Nye read the covenant from the pulpit, and gave notice that every person present should immediately, by swearing thereto, worship the great name of God, and testify his doing so by lifting up his hands. Immediately a forest of hands rose up. The whole assembly then, by turn, advanced to the chancel, where a transcript of the covenant had been prepared, and subscribed it into the following order,—first, the assembly of divines, then the Scotch commissioners, afterwards the Lords and Commons of England. The ceremony was concluded by an address from Henderson, the moderator of the synod of Scotland, and one

of the commissioners for that country for this occasion. He took up the strain in which Nye had preceded; and foretold, from the experience of Scotland, what prodigious benefits would follow that day's solemnity: his nation had found nothing hard, to which they had bound themselves by their covenants; they would, no doubt, by their assistance, enable the parliament of England to destroy the popish authors of her miseries. "Were that covenant," exclaimed the orator, "now painted upon the walls of the pope's palace, it would, without doubt, put him into the quaking condition of Belshazzar, when he beheld the sentence which foretold his downfal."

The nature of a covenant implies a voluntary adhesion, or none; and the noblemen, barons, knights, burgesses, and others, who held up their hands in St. Margaret's Church, may be considered as having freely engaged themselves. But on other persons,—on all officers, civil and military, on the ministers of the church, and the people in general, it was imposed by the authority of parliament. Previously, however, an exhortation was published, for the information and encouragement of the people; it not being thought safe to leave that business wholly to the clergy, on whom notwithstanding it was enjoined. This document was chiefly designed to prove the consistency of the covenant with the oaths of supremacy and allegiance, and with the peculiar engagements of the clergy. Safely, nevertheless, may we assert, though some good and wise men led the way in adhesion to this monstrous oath, that sophistry more insulting

was never offered to the intellect of a community. In fact, the "exhortation" openly recommends perjury, as a duty; and so grossly had the habitual hypocrisy, which the course of events had imposed on the nation, now clouded men's minds, that the Earl of Lincoln, who openly in the house of Lords protested against the covenant, three or four more of the peers, and a few commoners, who did not make their appearance in the assembly at St. Margaret's Church, are the only persons, except the clergy, known to have demurred. A grand stroke of statesmanship, it might be, on the part of Pym and Vane, of Say and St. John, who now neither would nor could roll back the mighty current on which they had ridden so far; but, had no other mischiefs followed, it was not a light one, that a festering wound was thereby fixed in the moral sense of the nation. This peculiar mischief of the covenant is pointed out by a pamphlet of the time, in which one of the subscribing peers is thus addressed: "Have your consciences, my lord, grown so dead to Scripture, and your understandings so dull to rules of law, that in plain English you promise God Almighty to assist any body to kill the king, and set up new covenants of your own, point blank against your oaths of allegiance and supremacy, and publish all this to the people, as the articles of your new creed; and yet, that your lordship should tell me that your affection and duty to the king continues still the same, that you have still not only the same desire, but the same hope of peace? You tell me of a trick your lordships have found out to save you harmless from any obligation by this oath—a

salvo to all your other oaths lawfully taken, and those being diametrically contrary to this, you have upon the matter engaged yourselves to nothing by this new covenant, and so have cunningly evaded the design of the contrivers. Oh, my lord, can you please yourselves with these shifts? Is this the wisdom, vigilance, integrity, and courage of the highest court of judicature, to lead the people by their example to so solemn an act as a covenant with God Almighty, which, at the instant you took it, you intended should signify nothing? Will the poor people of England, whereof, it may be, many have looked up to your example with reverence, and thought many things fit or lawful only because you did them, when they shall find that you have 'vowed in the presence of Almighty God, the Searcher of all hearts, as you shall answer at the great day when the secrets of all hearts shall be disclosed, that you will, according to your power, assist the forces raised and continued by the parliament, against the forces raised by the king'—will they, I say, think that your lordship intended nothing by this vow, but what you were obliged to by your oaths of allegiance and supremacy; that is, 'to defend the king to the utmost of your power, against all conspiracies and attempts whatsoever, which shall be made against his person, his crown, and dignity, and to do your best endeavour to disclose and make known to him all treasons and conspiracies which shall be against him, to assist all jurisdictions, privileges, pre-eminences, and authority, belonging to him, or united to the imperial crown of this realm,' and, indeed, to do all things

which by this your new sacred vow you have forsworn to do? Will this salvo reconcile all these contradictions? And is this subtility the first-fruits of your 'humility, and reverence of the Divine Majesty, your hearty sorrow for your own sins and the sins of the nation, and your true intention to endeavour the amendment of your own ways?' For God's sake, my lord, talk not of preserving the true reformed protestant religion, and opposing papists and popery, when your actions destroy the elements of Christianity!"

The class on whom the imposition of the covenant pressed, as it was designed to press, more heavily than on any other, was the clergy. The second article runs thus: "We shall, without respect of persons, endeavour the extirpation of popery and prelacy, (that is, church-government, by archbishops, bishops, their chancellors and commissaries, deans, deans and chapters, archdeacons, and all other ecclesiastical officers depending on that hierarchy.)" "It grieved them," observed Fuller, "to see prelacy so unequally yoked; superstition, heresy, schism, profaneness" (such is, in fact, the order of enumeration), "following after." But a worse evil than insult was inflicted, when all who refused by this appeal of lawful solemnity to engage for the destruction of that form of church government, which they believed to be of Divine institution, and had already bound themselves by oaths and subscriptions to maintain, were thrust out, with their families, to beggary, or shut up in dungeons. Such was already the fate of numbers of their brethren. The

parliamentary committee for the removal of scandalous ministers, and the subordinate committees in correspondence with them, had been all this time prosecuting their objects with earnest zeal. Some of the deprived clergymen were ejected on charges of immorality and incompetence; but the greater part, for superstition or malignancy; that is, for attachment to the ordinances of the church, or for loyalty to the king. It is surprising that, with so many facilities and inducements, the work proceeded no faster; since the doors of the committees were never closed against the representations of faction or mistake; and since the desire of providing "godly" ministers with livings, and neglected congregations with such approved pastors from their own party, must be supposed to have naturally stimulated their zeal. But the covenant supplied a test which it was impossible for the clergy to evade: even the puritans among them — those individuals who were dissatisfied only with the rites and doctrines, but not disposed to quarrel with the constitution, of the church, and whose vehement outcries against the popish tendency of the former had so largely assisted in its destruction — were now, in many cases, involved in the same ruin with their brethren, and vainly regretted the course they had pursued. In fact, the more strict and conscientious of puritan churchmen must have largely shared in the general amount of suffering; for as almost every enormity, on which part soever begun, was quickly answered by some corresponding abuse on the other, we have no reason to question the truth of those statements that remain,

of the oppressions to which the stricter ministers were exposed when they chanced to be found within the king's quarters. The clergy were, indeed, on all sides' in a condition so deplorable, being, as Mr. Hallam allows, "utterly ruined," that the phrase "*persecutio undecima*"—the eleventh persecution—applied to that melancholy period, seems to imply no exaggeration.

It is creditable to themselves, though matter of regret to us, that so few contemporary records of the sufferings of the clergy, in that period, exist: for the most part, they endured in dignified silence. Bishop Hall's relation of his own "Hard Measure," as one of the imprisoned and deprived bishops, is nearly unique, as an autobiographical memoir of an ejected churchman. Yet not a few of the sufferers were too illustrious to escape the notice of history. Among such, Hammond and Jeremy Taylor, it is true, found shelter with friends; but Lydiat was dismissed to penury; and Walton completed, in indigence, his prodigious labours, designed for a generation who had deprived him of bread, and who decried all human learning as savouring of ungodliness. Persecution and want shortened the life of the "ever-memorable Hales." The melancholy story of the great Chillingworth is related by Cheynell, his persecutor in life and death, to enhance his credit with his presbyterian brethren. That scholar, so eminent, to use the words of Cheynell himself, for "the excellency of his gifts and the depth of his learning," had fallen into the hands of Waller at the surrender of Arundel Castle; and being unable, from the infirm state of his health, to bear a journey

to London with his fellow-prisoners, was removed to Chichester. There this man Cheynell (who gravely charges himself with "foolish pity" towards his victim), and other violent presbyterians, so harassed him with the insolence of unseasonable controversy, that within a fortnight he expired; although, with tender treatment, as the inflated zealot himself acknowledges, he might have recovered. But here the inhumanity of his gaolers did not cease. Chillingworth's friends, says Cheynell, were, "out of mere charity," permitted to afford him "the civility of a funeral," though "nothing which belongs to the superstition of a funeral;"—*i. e.* the use of the burial-service was prohibited. "It was favour enough," continues this stern adherent of the presbytery, "to permit Master Chillingworth's disciples or followers, the malignants of the city, to attend the hearse and inter his body.' "The malignants" attended accordingly; and were met, at the grave prepared for the illustrious dead, by Cheynell, with Chillingworth's immortal work in his hand; which, after having pronounced a speech full of rancorous abuse, he flung into the grave, apostrophising it thus: "Get thee gone, thou cursed book, which hast seduced so many precious souls! Get thee gone, thou corrupt, rotten book, earth to earth, and dust to dust; get thee gone into the place of rottenness, that thou mayest rot with thy author, and see corruption." The lively picture of sectarian spite here set before us admitted of one touch more:—"So much," concluded the iron-hearted bigot, —"so much for the burial of his errors! Touching

the burial of his corpse, I need say no more than this; it will be most proper for the men of his persuasion to commit the body of their deceased friend — brother — master — to the dust; and it will be most proper for me to hearken to that counsel of my Saviour, 'Let the dead bury their dead, but go thou and preach the kingdom of God!' And so," says he, finishing, with great self-applause, this hateful portrait of himself, "I went from the grave to the pulpit, and preached on that text to the congregation."

The case of Dr. Featly was peculiar, but characteristic. The Doctor was a man of moderation and learning; a doctrinal puritan, and one of the few episcopalian clergymen nominated to seats in the assembly of divines, who consented to sit: he was, indeed, the only one of his class who continued long to attend the meetings of that body. In consequence, however, of opposing himself to such measures as the abolition of bishoprics and the sale of church lands, he was brought before one of the committees of the house of Commons, who proposed to dispossess him of his preferment. But Featly's abilities and integrity reflecting some credit on the synod, the house refused to confirm this vote of the committee. Shortly afterwards, however, a correspondence of his with the great Archbishop Usher, at that time in Oxford, was betrayed to the parliament. Upon this, the house again took up the inquiry. Featly was charged with "adhering to the enemy." Lambeth, and another living which he had in the country, were both sequestered, his estate and library seized,

and himself committed to a common gaol, where he remained till want and misery sank him to the grave.

But the most lamentable effect of the temper which governed those persons who imposed the covenant on the people of England—perhaps, the most disgraceful blot on the history of the Long Parliament—was the destruction of Laud. It is a woful story, justly appreciated by posterity; and one which the warmest foes of episcopacy and monarchy, in our times are willing to pass over in silence. But the salutary lesson it affords, history will not dispense with; and here (for to this place they naturally belong) we will insert on our busy canvass the few touches, which cannot be refused to so grand and affecting an exhibition of bravely-endured oppression.

To the articles formerly exhibited against the archbishop, ten others were added on the 24th of October 1643; when he also received an order to put in his answer to the whole, in writing, on the 30th of that month. They relate chiefly to two heads of charges—to popish innovations in the church, and endeavouring to establish an arbitrary and tyrannical government. An extension of time, for a fortnight, was, on his petition, granted to the primate. He farther applied for the restoration of his papers: the answer was, that he might have copies of them at his own charge,—when his judges had already reduced him to a state of absolute penury! Left, thus, at the mercy of his revengeful and unprincipled prosecutor Prynne, he requested funds sufficient for employing counsel: this, too, was refused.

Counsel were, however, assigned him, of whom Hale was one.

The trial was again adjourned; but on the 12th of March 1644, the archbishop was brought by the lieutenant of the Tower, and the usher of the black-rod, to the bar of the Lords. The process commenced by a speech from Sergeant Wilde, who, with Maynard, and others, had been appointed to conduct the prosecution. He began with a Latin quotation: Repertum est hodierno die facinus, quod nec poeta fingere, nec histrio sonare, nec mimus imitari, potuerit—"this day is an atrocity brought to light, such as no poet could feign, no actor represent, no mimic imitate!" Aware what usage he might expect, Laud had at one time thought of declining to defend himself; but he conquered this weakness, and "resolved to undergo all scorn and whatsoever else might happen to him, rather than betray his own innocency." To the charge of attempting to introduce an arbitrary and tyrannical government, he replied by alleging, that in his judgments, and his advice, as a privy councillor, he had, to the best of his knowledge, regulated his course according to the laws, and had done nothing without the concurrence of his colleagues. The charge of popery he met by adducing a list of two-and-twenty persons, whom he had converted from the Romish religion to protestantism.

The method of conducting this cause tried equally the courage and the health of the aged and infirm churchman. Each day, at about two o'clock, the charge against the prisoner was concluded. From

that time till four, he was allowed to prepare his answer; but was not permitted to converse with his counsel until after it had been made. One or more of the committee then replied; and it was evening before the wearied archbishop was dismissed from the presence of his unfeeling peers, to return, by water, for the night, to his gloomy residence in the Tower. Several of the miserable band of ten or twelve members, to which that noble house was now reduced, would retire even before the completion of the charge. "I never had," writes Laud, "any one day, the same lords all the morning. And no one lord was present at my whole trial, but the Lord Grey of Werke, the speaker." He was exposed to insult from his enemies, both within the house, and without. On one occasion, Hugh Peters followed, and pestered him with abuse, until the Earl of Essex coming up freed him from his merciless tormentor: at another time, Nicholas, one of the committee of managers, applied to him language of intolerable brutality. Then, only, Laud gave way to feelings of indignation. "If," he exclaimed, "my crimes are such that I may not be used like an archbishop, yet let me be used like a Christian!" The lords felt shame, and reproved the ruffian pleader. Yet in the teeth of these discouraging circumstances, the prisoner defended himself with such consummate ability and unaffected courage, as extorted admiration and bitter praise even from Prynne.

At the conclusion of the trial, the archbishop was allowed to make his general defence to the whole charge. On arriving at the bar of the lords, he im-

mediately perceived that each of his judges was busied with the examination of a book laid before him: these were so many copies of his diary; which Prynne had printed, in an imperfect and interpolated form, and produced in this unexpected manner, if possible to silence and confound him. The scheme failed; undauntedly he proceeded with his defence. His counsel replied to the matter of law; the judges, when referred to, pronounced, "in their timid way," that no proofs of legal treason had been adduced. All was useless. Laud's doom, like Strafford's, had been fixed. The machinery of petitions for "justice" was once more put in motion. The primate of England was now dragged before the house of Commons. An ordinance for his attainder was sent up thence to the Lords; where, to the eternal disgrace of that house, as far as any act of the cowardly creatures who then represented the peers, could disgrace the greatest English court of justice, it found advocates and compliance. Why harrow up the depths of honest indignation, by pursuing farther this hideous, this unholy farce? We hasten to the conclusion! On the 10th of January 1645, after a hard struggle for the privileges of the axe, to be substituted for the gallows, — this being the death insisted upon by the house of Commons,— those deliverers of England from the yoke of her ancient monarchy, those vindicators of conscience against the terrible persecutors of the order of Taylor, Hall, and Morley, were gratified with the sight of Laud—of Laud, the grateful founder of the almshouses at Reading—the munificent benefactor of St. John's

College, and the Bodleian Library—the converter of Buckingham and Chillingworth — ascending, with the "tottering step of eld," but with a countenance ruddy and serene, to the same platform which, four years before, had streamed with the noble blood of his friend Strafford!

His "sermon-speech," as Fuller terms it—for he began with the encouraging and sublime text, Hebrews xii. 2,—with its tone of deep, quiet pathos, is well known. So composedly did he speak, that, observes Sir Philip Warwick, "he appeared to make his own funeral sermon with less passion than he had in former times made the like for a friend." Like Strafford, he, in concluding, utterly denied the charge of his enmity to that part of the constitution, under whose vengeance he suffered. "I know the uses of parliaments," he said, "too well to be their enemy. But I likewise know that parliaments have sometimes been guilty of misgovernment and abuse; and that no corruption is so bad, as the corruption of that, which, in itself, is excellent. But I have done," he concluded; "I forgive all the world; all and every of those bitter enemies which have persecuted me. And I humbly desire to be forgiven of God first, and then of every man, whether I have offended him or not, if he do but conceive that I have; Lord do Thou forgive me, and I beg forgiveness of him. And so I heartily desire you to join in prayer with me." The dying archbishop then knelt down, and with awful impressiveness repeated that memorable prayer, so often

printed, but with which, nevertheless, we cannot refuse to recommend these pages:—

"O eternal God and merciful Father! look down upon me in mercy; in the riches and fulness of all thy mercies, look down upon me; but not till thou hast nailed my sins to the cross of Christ, not till thou hast bathed me in the blood of Christ, not till I have hid myself in the wounds of Christ, that so the punishment due unto my sins may pass over me. And since Thou art pleased to try me to the utmost, I humbly beseech Thee, give me now in this great instant, full patience, proportionable comfort, and a heart ready to die for thine honour, the king's happiness, and the Church's preservation. And my zeal to this (far from arrogancy be it spoken!) is all the sin (human frailty excepted, and all the incidents thereunto) which is yet known to me in this particular, for which I now come to suffer; I say, in this particular of treason. But otherwise my sins are many and great: Lord, pardon them all; and those especially (whatever they are) which have drawn down this present judgment upon me! And when Thou hast given me strength to bear it, do with me as seems best in thine own eyes; and carry me through death, that I may look upon it in what visage soever it shall appear to me. Amen! And that there may be a stop of this issue of blood in this more than miserable kingdom (I shall desire that I may pray for the people too as well as for myself); O Lord, I beseech thee, give grace of repentance to all blood-thirsty people. But if they will not repent, O

Lord, confound all their devices, defeat and frustrate their designs and endeavours upon them, which are or shall be contrary to the glory of thy great name, the truth and sincerity of religion, the establishment of the king, and his posterity after him in their just rights and privileges, the honour and conservation of parliaments in their just power, the preservation of this poor church in her truth, peace, and patrimony, and the settlement of this distracted and distressed people under their ancient laws, and in their native liberty. And when Thou hast done all this, in mere mercy to them, O Lord, fill their hearts with thankfulness, and with religious, dutiful obedience to thee, and thy commandments, all their days. Amen, Lord Jesus; Amen. And receive my soul into thy bosom! Amen."

The archbishop had petitioned that three of his chaplains might be with him before and at his death: he was allowed only one—it was Dr. Sterne; with whom the parliament sent Sir John Clotworthy and another of their presbyterian friends. To Dr. Sterne, having concluded his prayer, he delivered the paper; and begged of him to communicate it to his brother chaplains, that they might see in what manner he had left this world; and he prayed to God to bless them. Observing a person employed in taking down his speech and prayer, he besought him not to misreport what he had uttered; "a phrase," he remarked, "might do wrong to one who was going from the world, and would have no means to set himself right." Then he advanced towards the block; but finding that part of the scaffold crowded with spectators, he desired

that they would give him room to die. "Let me," said he, "escape from these miseries which I have endured so long. God's will be done! I am willing to leave the world; no man can be more willing to dismiss me, than I am to be gone." And perceiving through the crevices of the platform, that some persons were standing beneath, immediately under the block, he requested that they might be removed, or that dust might be spread over the crevices: it was no part of his desire that his blood should fall upon the heads of the people. All this he did as collectedly "as if he rather had been taking order for some nobleman's funeral, than preparing for his own." The zeal of Clotworthy could no longer respect this awful moment, or the sublime propriety with which the archbishop performed his great part. He demanded of the dying prelate, what was the most comfortable saying for a man at the point of death? Laud replied: "Cupio dissolvi, et esse cum Christo, — I desire to depart and to be with Christ." "A good desire," admitted the inquisitor; "but then, how shall a dying man find assurance?" The primate answered, that such assurance was to be found within, but that it could not fitly be expressed in words. The assurance, however, Clotworthy still insisted, "was founded upon a word; and that word should be known." "It is founded on the knowledge of Jesus Christ," was the reply, "and on that alone." Laud now turned to the executioner, "as the gentler and discreeter person of the two;" and putting some money into his hands, with the same unaffected composure which he had preserved throughout,

said, "Here, honest friend; God forgive thee, as I do. Do thine office upon me with mercy." He then fell again upon his knees, and, having pronounced a brief but expressive prayer, laid his head upon the block. A moment's pause — he gave the signal — "Lord Jesus receive my spirit!" At one blow the axe did its fearful office; and instantly the sufferer's countenance, which, up to that moment, had retained the animated flush, that, through life, was peculiar to it, became pale as ashes; to the confusion of some present, who affirmed that he had painted his cheeks, in order that, by his complexion at least, he might obtain the credit of fortitude.

Thus fell Laud; and with him fell the Church of England; for the same day that the house of Lords passed the ordinance for his destruction, they likewise passed an act for the suppression of the Liturgy, and for setting up the Directory for public Worship — a meagre formulary, prepared by the assembly of divines, in which no place is found for the creed, the Lord's prayer, or the commandments. The body of the primate was interred, in the church of All-hallows, Barking, near the Tower. The Directory, in which burials are ordered to be without any religious observance was already in use; yet the sorrowing friends of Laud enjoyed the mournful consolation of depositing his remains in the grave, according to the majestic rites of that church for which he lived and died, and whose funeral they might be said to have solemnized at the same time with the primate's.

This is not the place to speak of the schisms and religious confusion which followed; yet the noisome weeds did not wait to spring up till the tree that supplied life to the national morals was laid low: every stroke that before thinned its branches, had opened a fresh space for them to overspread. Already the assembly of divines had applied to the Lords and Commons in parliament for powers to correct the "brutish ignorance," and root out the gross vices, which contempt of the church and persecution of the clergy, had let in upon the people. We will once more have recourse here to the very words of those who saw, with their own eyes, the evils they describe. From the numerous contemporary tracts, we select, for quotation, one which, though occasionally defective in taste, seems free from the exaggerations of party. The writer imagines himself to hear England deploring her condition in regard to morality and religion:

"I should traduce and much wrong religion," he says, "if I should cast this war upon her: yet methinks I hear her lament that she is not also without her grievances. Some of her chiefest governors, for want of moderation, could not be content to walk upon the battlements of the church, but they must mount also to the turrets of civil policy; some of her preachers grew to be mere parasites—some to the court, some to the country; some would have nothing in their mouths but prerogative, others nothing but privilege: some would give the crown all, some nothing; some, to feed zeal would famish the under-

standing; others to feast the understanding, and tickle the outward ear with essays and flourishes of rhetoric, would quite starve the soul of her true food.

"But the principal thing that I hear that reverend lady, that queen of souls, complain of, is, that that seamless garment of unity and love, which our Saviour left her for a legacy, should be torn and rent into so many scissures and sects. I hear her cry out at the monstrous exorbitant liberty, that almost every capricious mechanic takes to himself to shape and form what religion he lists. For the world is come to that pass, that the tailor and shoemaker may cut out what religion they please; the vintner and tapster may broach what religion they please; the dyer may put what colour, the painter may put what face upon her he pleases; the blacksmith may forge what religion he pleases,—and so every artisan, according to his profession and fancy, may form her as he pleases. Methinks I hear that venerable matron complain, how her pulpits are become beacons; how, for lights, her churches are full of firebands; how every caprice of the brain is termed tenderness of conscience, every frantic fancy, or rather frenzy, of some shallow-brained sciolist; and whereas others have been used to go mad from excess of knowledge, men grow mad now-a-days from excess of ignorance. It stands upon record in my story, that when the Norman had got firm footing within my realm, he did demolish many churches and chapels in the New Forest, to make fitter for his pleasure; but amongst other judgments which fell upon this sacrilege, one was, that tame fowl grew wild: I

fear God Almighty is more angry with me now than then, and that I am guilty of worse crimes; for not my fowl but my folk and people are grown, in many places half wild; they would not worry one another so in that wolfish belluine manner, else. They would not precipitate themselves else into such a mixed mongrel war; a war which makes strangers cry out, that I am turned into a kind of great bedlam, that Barbary is come into the midst of me,—that my children are grown so savage, so fleshed in slaughter, and become so inhuman and obdurate, that with the same tenderness of sense they can see a man fall, as a horse, or some other brute animal; they have so lost all reverence to the image of their Creator, which was used to be more valued in me than among other nations."

CHAPTER XIV.

CAMPAIGN OF 1644—MARSTON MOOR.

The return of the Earl of Essex to London, and the king's retirement to Oxford, after the fight at Newbury, though those movements terminated the campaign of 1643, as it regarded the two main armies, did not put an end to the military operations of the year. The greater part of England was alive with a ceaseless war of skirmishes and sieges. Prince Rupert, in the midland counties, maintained his reputation for courage and activity, for severity and rapine. In the west, his brother Maurice, after receiving the submission of several garrisons, which the brilliant successes of the royal arms at Roundway Down and Bristol had frightened into ready submission, besieged Plymouth, without taking it; and then sat down with a large force before the paltry ditches of the little town of Lyme. —The war in the north presented features of more interest.

The Earl of Manchester, having reduced Lynn, drew his forces into Lincolnshire, and on the 11th of October, was joined by Cromwell, now his lieutenant-general, and by Sir Thomas Fairfax. The following

day, they were attacked by a strong body of cavalry, from the royalists garrisons of Lincoln, Newark, and Gainsborough, at Waisby field, near Horncastle. That spirit of religious enthusiasm, which was the secret of Cromwell's extraordinary influence over his own unconquered regiments of troopers, had by this time widely diffused its electric sympathy through the ranks of the army in which he commanded. On the appearance of the enemy, he gave the word of onset—"Truth and Peace;" called on his soldiers to charge, in the name of the Highest; uplifted his loud harsh voice in a psalm, which officers and men, column after column, took up with hearty zeal; and, while it was yet sounding through their ranks, bore fiercely down upon the startled enemy. Midway, a volley met them from the royalist dragoons: they answered it by a louder note of that solemn defiance. A second discharge saluted them, when within a few paces of the hostile column. Cromwell's horse was shot dead, and fell upon him; and when, after a moment's struggle, he rose from the ground, he was again struck down, by an officer who had, at first, singled him out for the charge. Stunned for a moment, he presently rose a second time from among the slain, mounted the horse of a common soldier, which chanced to be at hand, and plunged forward into the fight. But by this time a regiment, commanded by Sir William Savile, which had received the first overwhelming shock of the parliamentarians, giving ground, disordered and put to flight the whole van of the royalists. The rout quickly became general. Manchester, has-

tening up with the infantry, found Waisby Field, and the road towards Lincoln, strewed with the royalist dead and dying; the survivors were utterly dispersed. A thousand of the king's troops are said to have perished in this short but terrible action. The next day the Marquess of Newcastle raised the siege of Hull.

Now began the splendid and more decisive campaign of 1644. Vainly had Charles sought to prevent, what he had long foreseen, the irruption of the Scots. In his name, though contrary to his proclamation, those levies were raised, whose entrance on the field was to turn against him the balanced scale of fortune; and on the 19th of January, 21,000 men of that nation, led by Lesley, Earl of Leven, marched, knee-deep in snow, upon the soil of England; the same Lesley, who, on receiving that title (such was the faith of those who were never weary of charging the king with faithlessness!) had solemnly promised his sovereign never more to bear arms against him. Passing Alnwick, after a summons to the brave Sir Thomas Glemham, who, with many of the gentry of Northumberland, was shut up in that fortress, they came before Newcastle, into which place the marquess had thrown himself the day before. Disappointed in their hope of surprising the town, they continued their march southward, skirmishing, now and then, with small parties of the royalists; and, some days later, were discovered by the marquess, who had gone in pursuit of them, occupying a strong position by the sea, near Sunderland. For weeks, the two armies kept each other at bay; till

at length the marquess, "seeing no possibility" of forcing the Scots to an engagement, drew off towards Durham. Had he resolved on *creating* such a possibility and vigorously followed it up, Newcastle might now have risen from the dubious reputation of a gallant amateur commander, to the fame of a great general; and if he had not arrested the final triumph of the parliament, might at least have forced it into a more honourable path to victory, than one carved out by the swords of hypocritical mercenaries.

Unable, in the distracted state of affairs in England, to reduce the Irish rebels to obedience, Charles had consented to a truce, and had invited the veteran soldiers of that country to join his forces in England. Numbers flocked over; but nothing was accomplished by those auxiliaries, to compensate for the odium of employing men practised in such barbarities as had disgraced the savage contest in Ireland, and many of them suspected, at the least, of Popery. So generally hateful was the name of Irishmen, that many of the king's adherents, in Newcastle's army and elsewhere, laid down their arms, as soon as it became known that the king had proposed to accept the services of that people; and the parliament passed an ordinance for the massacre of Irish prisoners of war, without any apparent shock to the public feeling. Some parties of these veterans having made their appearance in the county of Chester, the gallant Lord Byron, who commanded there for the king, united them with the forces already under his command, and laid siege to Nantwich, the only garrison in those parts which still held out for

the parliament. This incident gave occasion to one of those brilliant actions, which marked the dawn of Sir Thomas Fairfax's military fame. In the depth of that inclement winter he marched across from Lincolnshire, joined the forces of Sir William Brereton, from the county of Leicester, and, appearing unexpectedly before Nantwich, forced the besiegers to draw off, and routed them with a severe loss. Of 3000 foot, commanded by Byron, more than half were slain or captured. This defeat was a severe blow to the king's cause. His Irish auxiliaries, on whom he had mainly depended to enable him to take the field early in the spring, never came together again, but were all cut off in detail. Fairfax's despatch, written after the battle, mentions, as having been captured in the camp, 120 Irish women, of whom a great proportion were armed with long knives. Among the prisoners taken, was also the famous Colonel George Monk, afterwards the instrument of restoring the Stuart family to the throne. He was sent up to London, and imprisoned in the Tower; but consented to transfer his services to the parliament, and by his courage and activity soon took a distinguished part in the military affairs of the period.

Fairfax, in obedience to the orders of the parliament, marched back again into Yorkshire, and joined his father, Lord Fairfax, at Selby, to co-operate with the Scots. Falling in, near that town, with a party commanded by Colonel Bellasis, the governor of York, who had marched out to prevent the junction, he totally defeated them, and captured their officers and

cannon, including Bellasis himself. York was now seriously endangered; the Marquess of Newcastle, therefore, yielding to the solicitations of the alarmed inhabitants, broke up his position at Durham, and entered that city on the 19th of April. The next day, the Scots came to Wetherby. There, the day following, they were joined by the Fairfaxes, and proceeded at once to besiege the marquess. The wide extent of the walls of York, and the facilities of annoying the besiegers, which the river afforded to so strong a garrison as was now enclosed within their circuit,—for Newcastle's horse was between 4000 and 5000 strong,—rendered the investment merely an irregular blockade, and exposed the besiegers to continual sorties. But these inconveniences were presently remedied by the advance of the Earl of Manchester's forces, out of Lincolnshire, to the support of his friends. That commander was now at the head of the completest army yet brought into the field by either party. It consisted of 14,000 men, chiefly disciplined on Cromwell's plan, splendidly armed, and liberally furnished with all necessary supplies. Their general was likewise stimulated by the daring genius of his lieutenant, and by the presence of a parliamentary committee, at the head of whom was the subtle Vane — since Pym's death, acknowledged leader of the house of Commons. On his march, Manchester possessed himself, by storm, of Lincoln; and with the help of Cromwell's "Invincibles," drove back Goring, whom the Marquess of Newcastle had despatched with the greater part of his cavalry, to attempt the relief of that place. The

arrival of a third army before York was the signal for breaking off negotiations for an armistice, then pending between the marquess and Fairfax; and it immediately enabled the besiegers, by means of a large additional force, to press the siege with a degree of vigour which seriously distressed the marquess, and obliged him to send and acquaint the king with his perilous condition. The parliamentarians now drew their lines close up to the walls; erected batteries, which overlooked the town: took possession of the suburbs, in the midst of the flames which the garrison had set to them; and repulsed with equal valour, the frequent sallies of the fearless enemy within.

The king,—to return to the occurrences of the winter,—while waiting for the season when he must resume, in the field, a contest, every day growing more unequal, adopted two expedients, from which he hoped either to derive some advantages in carrying on the war, or at least to prepare the way for peace upon endurable terms. He had long felt, that the strongest ally of his enemies was in the witchery that accompanied the very sound of the word *parliament*, to the ears of Englishmen. Of this spell he now tried to get possession. The anti-parliament, composed of those peers and commoners who had deserted, or had been expelled, from the houses at Westminster, was assembled at Oxford, about the time that the Scots passed the Tweed. The numbers which met in this convention, were respectable—more than half as many in the lower, and full three times as many in the upper house, as appeared

at the rival assembly, which still laid exclusive claim to the name and rights of the parliament of England. Their proceedings evinced that moderation which became the friends of their bleeding country, in the distracted circumstances of the time. Without displaying any extreme warmth of loyalty, or indulging in a tone of exasperation towards their brethren at Westminster, they earnestly sought peace, and would have purchased it by large concessions; but the other side now repelled all advances, in the sovereign style of conquerors. They forwarded the covenant to Oxford, declaring that engagement to be the immediate work of God, for the furtherance, by their means, of "his own truth and cause against the heresy, superstition, and tyranny of antichrist;" proclaimed their solemn determination never to lay down their arms, till they had made peace on their own terms; gave warning that they would henceforth endure no lukewarmness, in their cause; and finally, offered a pardon to all who should, before a certain day, desert the king, give in their adherence to the parliament, and take the covenant. The existence of the parliament at Oxford they did not acknowledge. Frustrated in its object of a pacification, that assembly now turned its attention to the means of prosecuting the war. Those means, notwithstanding the generous loyalty of multitudes, who impoverished their families to their last acre, to lay the produce at the king's feet, were by this time miserably exhausted. The principal measure proposed by the Oxford parliament, with this view, was, in imitation of their opponents, to levy an excise. When the mem-

bers separated, they had scarcely to reckon among their acts any greater benefit to the royal cause, than the absorption, though but for a season, of the mean passions and paltry discontents of a contemptible court, in the interest excited by the nobler endeavours even of that which the king himself termed his "mongrel parliament."

Charles's second expedient proved no less abortive. Cardinal Richelieu, who, from the beginning of the troubles, had encouraged the enemies of the crown, both in England and Scotland, was now dead; his master, Louis XIII., had followed; and Cardinal Mazarine, the new prime minister of France, was thought willing to second the friendly disposition of the regent towards the English court. Great hopes were therefore entertained by Charles of successful consequences from the mediation of the new French envoy, who now made his appearance, in the person of the Count of Harcourt. But the suspicions of the parliament were excited. The count had scarcely set foot on English ground, when his retinue was searched by a messenger from the Commons, who arrested Montague, an accredited agent of the king and queen of England at Paris, disguised among his attendants, and committed him to the tower. In London, the ambassador was received with apparent respect, and allowed to proceed to Oxford. Charles was soon undeceived, with regard to the authority of this person to negotiate for aid from France. On the other hand, the parliament, to whom Harcourt now returned, declined his offered mediation, on the ground of his

bringing no credentials to either house. They even intercepted his despatches; among which, a letter from Goring to the queen disclosed that the embassy was planned and arranged by her majesty. On the part of the French government, it was, in fact, a diplomatic manœuvre, designed to amuse both parties; it ended without any other result, than to confirm the confidence of the parliament, and to leave the king, as it found him, to his own precarious resources.

As the season of warlike activity approached, Charles looked on with anxious uncertainty, while his enemies employed their utmost efforts to send into the field a force sufficient to realise their professed intention of overwhelming him at one blow.

While their levies were proceeding in London, the usual speeches were made to the citizens, to persuade them freely to part with their contributions; and after the preparations were completed, the customary fast was appointed to pray for success. Such was the effect of the eloquence of Essex and Warwick, of Vane, Hollis, and Glyn, upon the citizens assembled in Guildhall, that even the loss of Pym threw no observable damp over the public zeal. How the more solemn business of the fast-day was conducted in the assembly of divines, we are informed, in a passage of inimitably rich *naïveté*, by Baillie. "We spent from nine to five graciously," writes the complacent commissioner. "After Doctor Twiss had begun with a brief prayer, Mr. Marshall prayed large for two hours, most divinely confessing the sins of the assembly, in a wonderful pathetic and pru-

dent way. After, Mr. Arrowsmith preached an hour, then a psalm; thereafter Mr. Vines prayed near two hours, and Mr. Palmer preached an hour, and Mr. Seaman prayed near two hours, then a psalm; after, Mr. Henderson brought them to a sweet conference of the heat confessed in the assembly, and other seen faults to be remedied, and the conveniency to preach, against all sects, especially anabaptists and antinomians. Dr. Twiss closed with a short prayer and blessing. God was so evidently in all this exercise, that we expect certainly a blessing."

The Earl of Manchester's army has been mentioned already: in the middle of May, Essex and Waller likewise marched from London, each at the head of 10,000 men. As soon as the former had reached Windsor, and the latter had encamped at Basing, the king advanced from Newbury, where his army had mustered, to Reading; raised the fortifications of that town, in order to augment his forces with the troops of the garrison; and again retired to Oxford, to observe the movements of his enemies.

The parliamentarian armies now pushed on, and occupied Reading; Abingdon, which the royalists had likewise abandoned; and, in effect, the whole of Berkshire. The situation of Charles was, indeed, become critical. Waller forced a passage across the Isis; the Thames was crossed by Essex; and thus Charles found himself and his troops shut up in a narrow isthmus between two powerful armies. In London, a report prevailed, that Oxford was already taken, and the king a prisoner. The court was in consternation,

apprehending all the dismal horrors of a siege. Essex, on his march to Islip, at which town he designed to fix his quarters, drew up his army upon an open space, where those in the city had a full view of it; while, with his train of officers, he rode round, and surveyed, without molestation, nearly the whole circuit of its defences. The only means left to Charles of saving that venerable seat of learning from the destructive miseries of war, was to withdraw himself, if possible, to a distance; for he was aware that the object now chiefly aimed at by his enemies, was the possession of his person. Accordingly, on the 3rd of June, he visited his quarters at Woodstock; brought his army close under the walls of Oxford, there to wait his farther pleasure; ordered out a body of foot with cannon, on the road towards Abingdon, in order to divert the attention of his pursuers from his real purpose; and prepared every thing for his escape. As soon as night fell, he summoned the prince and their attendants, and, escorted by his own regiment of cavalry, passed, in silence, the north gate, accompanied by many lords and gentlemen of the court, and followed by a long train of equipages crowded with ladies. The Duke of York, with most of the lords of the privy council, remained behind; some troops of horse, a regiment of foot, and all the heavy ordnance, under the command of the Earl of Peterborough, being left for their defence. Charles gave orders, that the services in his chapel at Christ Church should be continued on Sundays and Tuesdays, as if he still were present. Already, several weeks before, the queen had fled from Oxford,

to seek, in the loyal capital of Devonshire, a retreat where the cradle of her expected royal infant might be secure from the ungenial clangour of rebel arms.

Marching between the two armies of the enemy, the king arrived, by daybreak on the 4th of June, at Hanborough; and, in the afternoon, at Burford, where he halted. By this time, Waller had knowledge of his flight, and had pushed on in pursuit as far as Witney; when, presently, the scouts of the royal army came galloping in with the intelligence; a general cry of "to horse! to horse!" was heard through the town; and Charles, with his sword drawn, was seen riding about to hasten away his followers. At Evesham he designed to rest; but hearing that both armies were pursuing by forced marches, he advanced to Worcester.

Such, however, was not the fact; for, on arriving at Burford, Essex resolved that Waller should pursue the king, while he himself penetrated into the west, to relieve Lyme, and reduce those loyal regions to the power of the parliament.

To this arrangement Waller submitted with reluctance, alleging against it a previous command of their common masters, that if the two armies separated, the west was to be assigned to himself; but finding it necessary to yield, he executed the order with characteristic dispatch. By the way, he took possession of Sudley, the seat of the Lord Chandos; and finding, on his arrival at Worcester, that the king had marched out to Bewdley, he concluded that Charles' object was

to entrench himself within the walls of Shrewsbury, and therefore advanced northward without resting, till he had passed the royal army. In truth, Charles, as his famous letter, written about this time to Prince Rupert, evinces, was in the greatest perplexity, without any fixed plan, having no other design in his marches than merely to avoid his pursuer, "with whom he could not, with such a handful of foot, and without cannon, reasonably propose to fight." It is to the unfortunate monarch's condition at this time, that Clarendon pathetically applies the complaint of King David, when pursued by Saul, that he was hunted like "a partridge on the mountains and knew not whither to resort, or to what place to repair to rest." Some of those affecting incidents in the military life of the king, which are preserved in the royal itinerary, quoted by D'Israeli, apply to this period. The following appear among the entries in that "brief chronicle." The king and his party sometimes lodged in a bishop's palace, or at the seat of a lord, at a country gentleman's, clergyman's, or merchant's abode; but not unusually at a yeoman's house; and on one occasion, the record says, at "a very poor man's house." "Dinner in the field," observes the pleasant commentator, is an usual entry, but the melancholy one of 'no dinner this day,' is repeated for successive days. 'Sunday no dinner, supper at Worcester—a cruel day.' 'This march lasted from six in the morning till midnight.' 'His majesty lay in 'the field all night, in his coach.' 'The king had his meat and drink dressed at a poor widow's.' Such was the life of Charles the First, during several years."

Finding that he had deceived Waller, the king now marched back with all expedition to Worcester, thence again to Evesham, and the same night to Broadway, where he quartered his army. "From thence," says Clarendon, in his picturesque narrative of this interesting expedition, "they mounted the hills near Camden; and there they had time to breathe, and to look down with pleasure on the places they had passed through; having now left Waller, and the ill ways he must pass through, far behind; for even in that season of the year, the ways in that vale were very deep." Charles now sent messengers to Oxford, with orders to the troops left there to join him, with his cannon, at Burford. The alacrity and joy evinced in obeying this order, enhanced the satisfaction with which he once more found himself in his old quarters, surrounded by his loyal cavaliers, after a harassing and wearisome march of seventeen days; during which his fortitude had been tried by "accidents and perplexities to which majesty has been seldom exposed," and his abilities in the field put to a test which entitles them to respect.

The king had no intention to remain idle. Having shortly rested and recruited his army, he marched to meet Waller, now on his return to seek him; and, upon the 28th of June, discovered that general's army, which had by this time been strengthened by a reinforcement of about 1000 horse and foot from Warwick and Coventry, drawn up, in order of battle, at the foot of a hill on the west of Banbury. Both parties spent the night in the field, separated from each other

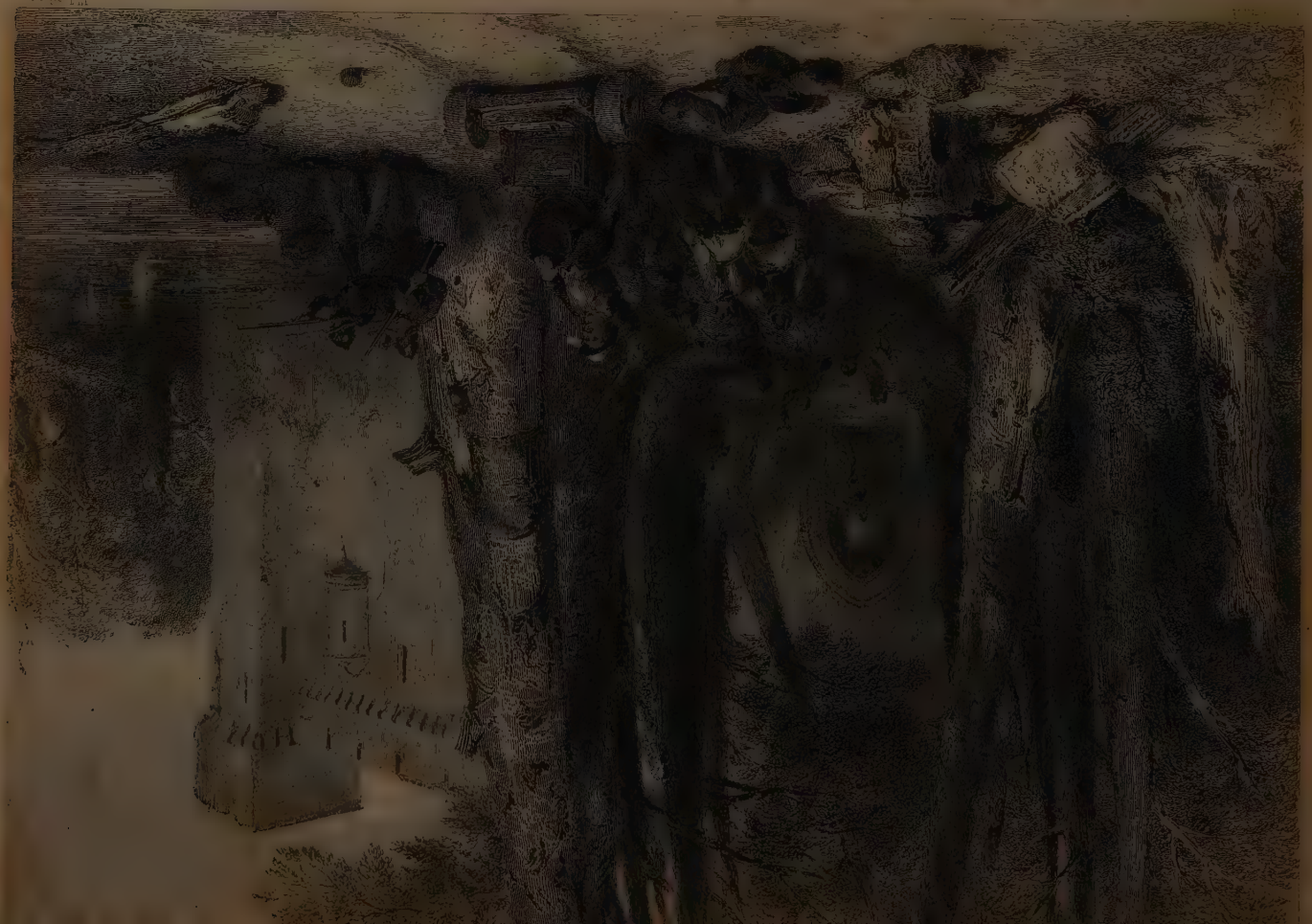
by the river Charwell. The following day occurred the series of spirited skirmishes, known as the fight at Copredy Bridge. The brunt of that irregular action lay chiefly between the Earl of Cleveland, and Middleton, Waller's lieutenant-general. The ultimate advantage was evidently on the royalist side; for Waller lost all his ordnance, and was so weakened by the capture and dispersion of his forces, that he presently returned, without making any further attempt, to London. The king, meantime, marched westward, in pursuit of Essex.

The celebrated letter, already alluded to, in which Charles, in great alarm at the intelligence from York, "commanded and conjured" his nephew to march to the relief of that city, found Rupert surrounded by a fresh halo of military glory. A short time before, he had relieved Newark, besieged by Sir John Meldrum—one of the most brilliant exploits, of that kind, performed in the whole war; had taken Stockport, Bolton, and Liverpool; and had raised the siege of Lathom House, the mansion of the Earl of Derby, so gallantly defended against the parliament's forces, by the countess. It is impossible, even in the midst of the attraction and hurry of more important actions, to omit the particulars of this heroic defence.

The earl had gone over to protect his hereditary dominions in the Isle of Man, from the threatened invasion of the parliamentarians. Scarcely had he reached the isle, when the countess, whom he had left in charge of Lathom, received secret intelligence that her house would shortly be attacked. She instantly

called in the aid of the gentlemen of the county, and made all provisions requisite for a defence, with so much secresy and dispatch, that when, shortly afterwards, Fairfax appeared before the place, he was surprised to find that resistance was contemplated. He sent a trumpet to require a conference with the countess; to this she agreed, but detained the messenger, while, "to make the best show she could, she placed her inefficient and unarmed men on the walls and tops of the towers, and marshalled all her soldiers in good order, with their respective officers, from the main guard in the first court to the great hall," where she calmly awaited the visit of her enemy. The meeting was conducted, on both sides, with much courtesy and apparent respect. Fairfax proposed to her an honourable and secure removal, with her family and retinue, to Knowsley Hall; an engagement that she should remain there free from molestation; and half the earl's revenues for her support. She replied, "I am here under a double trust—of faith to my lord, and of allegiance to my king: give me a month to consider my answer." Fairfax refused. "Then I hope, sir, that you will excuse me," rejoined the countess, "if I preserve my honour and obedience, though it be to my ruin." A fortnight passed, before the general had decided on his method of attack. He then sent in military form to demand an immediate surrender. The countess answered, that "she had not yet forgotten what she owed to the church of England, to her prince, and to her lord; and that till she had lost her honour, or her life, she would defend that

place. Scarcely had the besiegers began their trenches, when the noble lady ordered a body of 200 men to sally out upon them, who slew sixty, and returned with a loss of only two of their own party. The assailants now proceeded more warily, but were so often interrupted by the defenders, in the formation of their lines, that little progress was made. At length, after having spent three months before the place, they approached the moat, and planted a powerful battery. Among the guns on this battery was a mortar of unusual dimensions. A shot thrown from this piece fell into an apartment where the countess and her children were at dinner. The heroine rose from the table, ascertained that no one was hurt, and instantly ordered another sally, in which all the guns of the enemy were spiked or flung into the moat, except the huge mortar, which the brave garrison dragged in triumph into the fortress. In the midst of incessant annoyance from the enemy, the besiegers contrived to repair their battery: the work was no sooner completed than they were once more dispersed, their cannon spiked, and the intrepid party of royalists again retired, almost unhurt, within their walls, leaving a hundred parliamentarians dead upon the spot. In all these actions the admirable countess encouraged the soldiers by her presence, and frequently exposed herself to personal danger. Nor did the inspiring example of her piety less contribute to maintain their valour: no action was attempted without previous prayer for success; no success was received without solemn thanksgiving. At length Fairfax, accustomed to victory, lost all patience.



He now appointed Colonel Rigby to conduct the siege, whom his private enmity to the Earl of Derby recommended to that office. The colonel made known his arrival by a fresh summons to Lathom House to surrender. It was conveyed in insulting terms: "Trumpeter," answered the countess to the messenger, "tell that insolvent rebel Rigby, that if he presume to send another summons within these walls, I will have his messenger hanged up at the gates." The garrison, however, was by this time reduced to extremity; when they had the happiness to descry from the towers the banners of Prince Rupert, who, on the earnest representations of the Earl of Derby, had turned aside for their relief in his march towards York. Rigby instantly raised the siege, and retreated, with his forces to Stockport.

Prince Rupert had taken in so many reinforcements in his way, that when, on the 1st of July, he came in sight of York, his army numbered about 20,000 men. The combined forces before that city broke up at his approach, and after an attempt to intercept him, which he avoided by a skilful disposition of his army, they withdrew their forces to Hessey Moor, near the village of Marston, where they met in a council of war to deliberate what course should be pursued. Irreconcilable jealousies and dissensions already distracted the confederacy; and the question, whether they should fight with the prince, which the English generals desired, or draw off their armies from the neighbourhood of the city, which the Scots were inclined to, seems to have been practically decided by the advance of

the Scotch army some miles on the road towards Tadcaster. The deliberations on the great crisis that had arrived, in the council of the Marquess of Newcastle, within the walls of York, were marked by equal, and, in their results, more fatal dissensions. The marquess, in accordance with his higher views, and better knowledge of the state of the enemy's camp, delivered his opinion, after his courteous and ceremonious manner, for delay. Why renew, by instantly forcing on a battle, that union already dissolving? The mere arrival of the prince was already doing the work of the royalists, without risk; the ripening of the enemy's dissensions, by time, would soon accomplish the rest. At least, let them avoid a battle till the arrival of reinforcements from the north, which he daily expected. The haughty Rupert chafed equally at the calm, refined tone, and the cold considerate advice; he would not argue the point. He had a letter from the king, absolutely commanding him to give the enemy battle. That order superseded deliberation: he had only to obey. The marquess replied, that if that was his highness' resolve, he, for his part, was ready to submit to his orders as strictly as if they were the king's in person. After the prince had retired, some of Newcastle's friends besought him not to take part in the battle, since, it appeared the command was taken from him. His reply was, that happen what might, he would not shun an engagement; his sole ambition having ever been to live and die a loyal subject of the king.

Accordingly, early in the morning of the 2nd, when the foot and artillery of the parliament were already in

motion to follow the Scots on the roads towards Tadcaster, Rupert, with a powerful body of horse, appearing on the edge of Marston Moor, threatened their rear, while the columns of his foot were seen in the distance, steadily advancing as if to choose their ground for battle. At once the march of the parliamentarians was countermanded, their advanced divisions recalled, and a position taken as rapidly as the nature of the ground permitted, fronting that already occupied by the prince. The royalists being in possession of the moor, the enemy drew up, among cornfields, upon a rising ground, which skirted its northern boundary; a ditch and slight embankment running along between the opposed fronts of the two hosts.

While Rupert waited the arrival of his infantry, the parliamentarians formed in view. In the centre rose the dense masses of their foot, commanded by Lord Fairfax and the Earl of Leven. Sir Thomas Fairfax with his cavalry, formed the right wing, Manchester and Cromwell the left. The prince opposed the great strength of his army to the columns of the younger Fairfax, and there, at the head of his cavaliers, selected his own position; Goring and Sir Charles Lucas he placed in the centre; on the left, Newcastle fought valiantly at the head of his devoted "white coats," but what share he took in the command is uncertain.

For the narrative of the fatal fight of Marston Moor, we recur to Mr. Forster's *Life of Cromwell*, already quoted. Whether in regard to careful research

among authorities, or to the vivid colouring which the author has given to his vigorous conception, it is a passage that discourages rivalry.

"Gazing with silent and inveterate determination at each other, these 46,000 subjects of one king, stood upon Marston Moor, eight miles from a city wherein every boom of the distant cannon would strike upon the inhabitants as the death-knell of a friend or brother. The lines of the parliamentarians had begun to from as early as ten in the morning—the royalists' preparations were complete at five o'clock in the afternoon—it was now within a quarter to seven. Yet there still stood these formidable armies, each awaiting from the other, with a silent and awful suspense, the signal of battle.

"A stir was seen at last in a dark quarter of Manchester's and Cromwell's Independents, and a part of their infantry moved forwards. Secure from behind the ditch, Rupert's musketeers at once poured out upon the advancing column a heavy and murderous fire, and it was in vain the parliamentarians attempted to form under the plunging batteries directed against them simultaneously from the rear. At that moment was seen the genius of Cromwell. With a passionate exclamation to his Ironsides, he ordered them to sweep round the ditch to their right, clear the broken ground, and fall in with himself upon the cavalry of the dissolute Goring. The movement occupied some time, and a fearful slaughter was meanwhile suffered by Manchester's infantry; but, having once emerged, these inveterate republicans stood, for an

instant, to receive, like a rock, the onset of Goring's horse, and then, 'like a rock tumbled from its basis by an earthquake,' rolled back upon them. Nothing could withstand the astonishing charge. The cavaliers who survived, offered no further resistance, but wheeled off to join the horse of Rupert. Cromwell and his men next struck the guns and sabred the artillerymen beside them, and then, with as much leisurely order as at parade, rode towards the drain. Every place was deserted as they advanced. One spot of ground only still held upon it, for an instant, the Marquess of Newcastle's unflinching regiment of old tenants and retainers, and was covered the instant after with an "unbroken line" of honourable dead. Their victory was complete, and the right wing of the royalists irrevocably broken.

"Rupert and his cavalry had meanwhile obtained as great a victory on the left. The encumbered ground on which Fairfax stood was most unfavourable to an advancing movement. Rupert accordingly stood keenly by till he saw the parliamentary forces stagger under the heavy charges poured upon them as they emerged in narrow columns through ditches and lanes, and then, with his characteristic impetuosity, charged, overthrew, routed, and dispersed both foot and cavalry, with tremendous slaughter.

"The after meeting of the two victors decided the day. While the centres were unsteadily engaged, Cromwell, who had held his triumphant Ironsides steadily in hand, and checked their pursuit, in the very nick of time ordered them suddenly to face

round and wheel upon their centre to the left. Rupert had given a similar order to his conquering cavalry to wheel round on their centre to the right; and now with a shock more terrible than any of this terrible day, these desperate leaders, each supposing himself the victor, dashed each in front of a victorious foe! Cromwell received a wound in the neck, and the alarm for his safety gave a slight appearance of momentary unsteadiness even to his gallant Ironsides, but they rallied with redoubled fury, and, in conjunction with Lesley, an accomplished Scotch officer, who led up at the moment a brilliant attack, fairly swept Rupert off the field.

"It was now ten o'clock, and by the melancholy dusk which enveloped the moor, might be seen a fearful sight. Five thousand dead bodies of Englishmen lay heaped upon that fatal ground. The distinctions which separated in life these sons of a common country seemed trifling now! The plumed helmet embraced the strong steel cap as they rolled on the heath together, and the loose love-lock of the careless cavalier lay drenched in the dark blood of the enthusiastic republican.

"But it is not with such thoughts the victors trouble themselves now. They have achieved the greatest conquest of the war, and the whole of the northern counties are open to the parliament's sway. The headstrong Rupert has received a memorable lesson, and retreats in calamity and disgrace towards Chester. The Marquess of Newcastle, weary of a strife never suited to his taste, but hateful to him now, crosses the sea an exile. Fifteen hundred prisoners remain with Manchester, Fairfax, Le-

ven, and Cromwell; the valuable ordnance of the vanquished—artillery, small arms, tents, baggage, and military chest—all have been left in their victorious hands!"

Nearly a hundred colours are said to have been captured, including the prince's own standard, bearing a red cross, with the arms of the palatinate. Of some others, the quaint devices displayed little taste or humanity. Many of them the soldiers tore up, and stuck the fragments for trophies in their caps. Others were recovered and forwarded to Westminster; where, at the reception of ambassadors from Holland, a ceremony at which the houses affected unusual pomp, forty-eight of these blood-stained ensigns of defeated royalty were displayed upon the table to regale, perchance to awe, those representatives of the maritime republic.

With the relation of the great battle of Marston Moor, the first volume of these sketches naturally concludes. From this fatal point, the great contest—no more the struggle of freedom with arbitrary power, but of republican ambition, battling in the youthful grandeur of its lawless strength against the throne and the laws—bears another aspect. Into the second division of the work, in which King Charles will be exhibited rather as suffering than contending, will, nevertheless, properly fall, the departure of Montrose on his romantic, but sanguinary enterprise; the expedition of Essex into the west pursued by the king; the

passage of Essex's cavalry through the quarters of the careless, convivial Goring; the general's flight, and the surrender of his infantry; with all the thronging incidents that diversify the later scenes of that great campaign.

END OF THE FIRST VOLUME.

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